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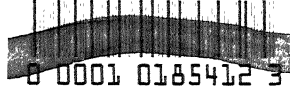
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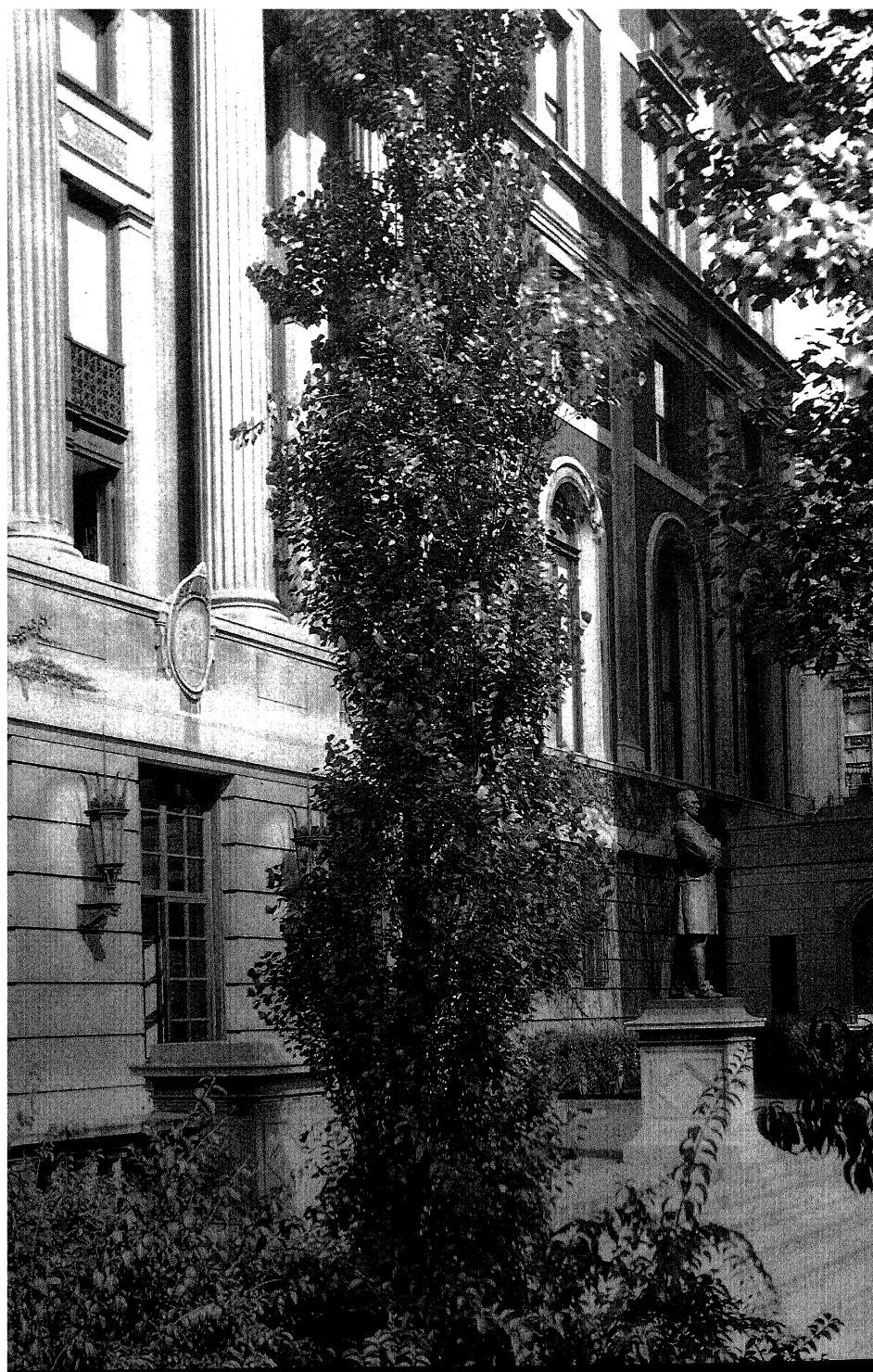


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COLUMBIA COLLEGE
ON MORNINGSIDE



THE
BICENTENNIAL
HISTORY OF
COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY
DWIGHT C. MINER
GENERAL EDITOR



A History of
COLUMBIA COLLEGE
ON MORNINGSIDE



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PREFACE

THE STORY of Columbia College on Morningside is the story of a tradition reinterpreted and revitalized. The tradition began, for Columbia, two hundred years ago with the pronouncement in the Charter of 1754 that the new institution was being established with the "good design of promoting a Liberal Education." The scope of that education had been described some months earlier by Dr. Samuel Johnson in his advertisement of the opening of classes. The instruction the good doctor had in mind was not intended to prepare young men for the immediate practice of any particular vocation; it had the larger aim of making them "creditable to their families and friends, ornaments to their country, and useful to the public weal in their generations." The scheme included training "in the arts of reasoning exactly, of writing correctly, and speaking eloquently," as well as instruction in the ancient languages, mathematics, history, commerce, government, and the natural sciences. Finally, to set these disciplines in perspective for the individual, Johnson proposed to lead his students "from the study of nature to the knowledge of themselves, and of the God of nature, and their duty to Him, themselves, and one another, and everything that can contribute to their true happiness, both here and hereafter."

This was the liberal arts ideal which dominated the teaching in King's College, despite the handicap of limited resources. It was maintained in its essentials for some years following the close of the Revolution. Early in the nineteenth century, however, the emphasis of the course came to rest upon but one part of the older liberal concept—upon the rigorous development of habits of factual acquisition, exactitude, and punctuality, to be tested by constant and relentless examination, from which, a Trustees' report of 1810 declared, "let it be ascertained that there is no escape."

There was escape, however. The forces that were shaping American society in the decades prior to the Civil War were producing new stand-

ards of accomplishment and new avenues to social rewards. The training which had broadened the horizons and sharpened the talents of colonial youths of good family had lost much of its pertinence and even more of its appeal. As the years passed, Columbia's distinguished classical faculty grew older, more learned, and more dedicated to its mission of "making men," but enrollments lagged and the public withheld its support.

By the time Frederick A. P. Barnard came to the presidency, in 1864, the College was expanding once more. The stimulus came not from any revolution in the liberal arts curriculum (which still closely resembled that of 1810) but from the fact that the institution was now providing other opportunities, more attractive to young men, through its new professional schools of Law, Medicine, and Mines. Spurred by these successes and by the forceful personalities of men like Barnard, John W. Burgess, and young Nicholas Murray Butler, the College moved ahead in the 1880's and 1890's to establish its schools of Political Science, Philosophy, and Pure Science for graduate training in the nonprofessional fields of scholarship. Thus Columbia gave substance to its earlier dreams of a full-fledged university and took its place, within a few short years, in the first rank of American institutions of higher learning.

These changes were too dramatic and too fundamental to leave the School of Arts untouched. Under Barnard, the old prescribed curriculum, with its emphasis on the classics, mathematics, and moral philosophy, began to crumble. The senior year lost much of its tight, climactic character as the progressive introduction of electives converted it increasingly into a first year of graduate or professional study. When Burgess's School of Political Science sought authority to confer the A.B. degree and when the aging Barnard suggested the advisability of abandoning undergraduate work altogether, the Arts professors were forced to look the bright new academic world squarely in the face. The "University party" stood on strong ground. Sincere and intelligent leaders everywhere acknowledged the desirability of elevating professional standards by lengthening the period of instruction and of providing young American scholars with a worthy substitute for graduate training abroad. Since each new advance meant an increased outlay of time and expense for the students involved, why not make levy upon the undergraduate years and restrict the function of the School of Arts to the elementary essentials that stressed memory-work and formal drill?

Shades of Samuel Johnson and his "good design"! The challenge

could not be sidestepped and the Arts men bestirred themselves at last. Encrusted by custom though they might be, they still understood what others, equally the beneficiaries of the liberal arts, had forgotten amid the exhilaration of rapid change. They saw that the inroads of specialized training were threatening to wipe out the very period in a young man's education when he became acquainted with his cultural heritage, his own tastes and powers, and the elusive but vital distinction between living and making a living. If the defenders of the liberal arts in the nineties were out of step with their time, they possessed an insight of the first importance for the future.

The dilemma of the liberal arts was emphasized by the move to Morningside Heights in 1897. The year before, in preparation for this step, the Trustees had adopted the designation of a university and had conferred upon the old School of Arts the name of Columbia College. This insured survival, but as Dean Van Amringe settled his boys in make-shift classrooms around the new campus, the basic questions remained: Was there justification, apart from sentiment, for retaining a college of liberal arts in this bright and expanding galaxy of professional and graduate schools? If so, how was it to be redefined so that it would contribute to the life of the University and at the same time bring fresh validity to the "good design of promoting a Liberal Education"?

These were the questions which confronted Van Amringe, as they were to confront later deans. The answers that have emerged to these questions over the past half-century, representing the results of the labor, understanding, and devotion of many men, constitute the main theme of this volume. As with any undergraduate school, the forms in which the life of Columbia College is expressed are varied in texture and tempo—too varied, in this case, for a single pen to portray. It is just as well, for each of the authors has written from his own knowledge and interest, to the advantage, it would seem, of the whole. Whatever is of merit in the pages that follow derives from the thought and effort of these busy men and I must let these simple words of appreciation express, in this place, my debt of gratitude.

Many whose names do not appear have contributed generously to the making of this book. In particular, I wish to thank Professor Jacques Barzun for his invaluable help in countless ways.

These brief acknowledgments would be incomplete without mention of the support and cooperation of the Trustees of Columbia University, who have refused no request for assistance in forwarding the

project. Finally, my thanks go out to the Class of 1930 for their cordial and substantial aid in meeting the costs of publication.

DWIGHT C. MINER

Columbia University
in the City of New York
April 8, 1954

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COLUMBIA COLLEGE
ON MORNINGSIDE

PROLOGUE

THE COLLEGE: A MEMOIR OF FORTY YEARS

by Irwin Edman

A RECOLLECTION is not a history; I set down these remembered impressions of Columbia College, from nearly half a century, not so much for the help they may be to any future historian as for the pleasure it is to share the past with those who have lived through all or part of it, or who perhaps wish they had.

My first memories of Columbia College go back just about half a century. I was a boy of eight or nine and my family lived just below Morningside Park, on Morningside Avenue, in what was then a pleasant, quiet, middle-class residential neighborhood. Ever since we had moved into the section, Columbia College—a term I heard used much more than Columbia University—was there on the heights above the park. Frequently, with neighborhood friends, I would scale those heights, lugging up with the help of another friend my Irish Mail, a small handcar. The friend and I would then coast down Morningside Drive from the summit, the site of the grandiose house that was to be the home of President Nicholas Murray Butler. Or we would play cops and robbers, scrambling on the rocks which were later blasted away to make place for the Men's Faculty Club.

I had one closer connection with Columbia College. At midday dinner on Sunday we would often be favored with a visit from a young man

who was the son of family friends in Louisville, Kentucky. He was a handsome, tall youth, who when he first came was a freshman at Columbia. He seemed to me to be the embodiment of everything wise, worldly, sophisticated, cultivated, informed, the very quintessence of university life, of learning, of wit. I think it was at that time that I secretly, almost unknown to myself, decided I must someday be a student in Columbia College. I was not very clear about just what was studied there. But I was impressed by the fact that our eminent visitor was studying Latin, that his teachers were called "professors," and that he had once seen President Nicholas Murray Butler. Alvin, for that was the name I learned to dare to address him by, also came very handsomely attired, and I was convinced by his costume, especially his derby hat, that a scholar always dressed like a gentleman.

Any more direct contact with Columbia did not come until the autumn of 1913 when I entered as a freshman. It is thus forty years now that I have had some official connection with the College, as a student and through the various ranks from instructor to professor. I have seen the College as an undergraduate and have seen successive generations of undergraduates. I have seen the College as a young instructor still half-paralyzed with diffidence at teaching in the same company with some of my revered former teachers who were, incredible as it might seem, my colleagues. I have taught in the College long enough to find myself, by chronology at least, an elder statesman who numbers many former students among his most distinguished colleagues.

I can therefore claim, I think, to know Columbia College fairly well. I have been in at the beginning of what now seem eternal parts of the College curriculum—Contemporary Civilization and the Humanities. I remember during World War I (my own class of 1917 likes to call itself the War Babies) what seems, looking back on it, a pleasantly simple, intimate, almost old-fashioned nineteenth-century college. Not that it was much smaller in numbers than the present student body expressly limited to about two thousand. But the University was not so large, and the College, perhaps because I was an undergraduate, seemed more central in some ways than it sometimes does now. And there were still many of my teachers and recent alumni who remembered the still simpler days at 49th Street when Columbia College was all there was of Columbia. It was, after all, only a bare decade and a half since the move to Morningside Heights, and a living legend went back to the world of the nineteenth century and to an older New York, a more unsophisticated one, when even 49th Street was way uptown.

The professors, too, in many instances, had the cachet and old-fashioned dignity of nineteenth-century formal manners. There was Professor Frank Gardner Moore of the Latin department, a quiet gentleman and scholar, and his colleague, Professor Edward Delavan Perry, and there was Nelson G. McCrea, who loved and reincarnated Horace. There was Professor George Clinton Densmore Odell, the historian of the New York stage, an elegant Olympian of a man, a denizen—so mysterious rumor had it—of the Century Club, that resort of gentlemen and scholars. There was Professor Henry B. Mitchell, who was generally supposed to be very wealthy, and who certainly gave the effect of leisurely good form. Columbia College was not a country college, but it had the effect of being somewhat apart from the city and in the center of a separate community in New York. There was a fairly elegant restaurant not far away, Kenelly's, at 111th Street, and the Lion, a cafe where it was said some of the professors (and certainly some of the students) could be found.

Columbia College was in those days perhaps a more local college than it is now, though one's classmates displayed a variety of accents from the drawl of the deep South to the hard-rolled "r's" of the Middle West. But though the majority of the students came from the New York area, Columbia College was in spirit and curriculum a good deal like the standard nineteenth-century New England college. Latin, for example, was still a required course, and Greek had until only recently been required. English A, a bland attempt to teach the elements both of writing and of literature, was still standard, and so were Philosophy A and History A.

Philosophy A was, on the whole, an introduction to formal logic largely by way of a text written by Adam Leroy Jones (though we studied a little book by John Dewey called *How We Think*). Jones, later to become Director of Admissions, is recalled by this memorialist as a personality all fairness, gravity, and consideration. Introduction to Philosophy, based on a ponderous German text, was made no better by a ponderous English translation, but to a very young mind its heaviness was impressive—the book itself was a massive tome—and its involved sentences patently, if obscurely, profound. History A one experienced, say, through the lively mind and incisive commentary of Carlton J. H. Hayes; though his *Political and Social History of Modern Europe* was still in the making, it was along the lines of history as something more than dates and battles that we were taught.

English A, it was rumored among undergraduates, changed every year, but in general it consisted of the art of writing taught on the basis of read-

ing anthologies of modern essays. The cult had not yet vanished of the "sedulous ape" school of teaching writing, but new tendencies were stirring. English A was also an introduction to ideas, and G. Lowes Dickinson's *A Modern Symposium* gave many of us our first exposure to contemporary winds of doctrine. Languages were taught in an old-fashioned grammatical way, but a few professors stirred the imagination of language students to the atmosphere of the cultures which they embodied.

There were some newer notes in the curriculum, such as a course in Comparative Literature given by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, grandson of the poet, who used to say of himself that he had a great future behind him. A miscellany of some thirty students listened to this rather aesthetic young man, with a great many learned file cards always in his hand, taking us through probably one of the earliest Great Books courses on record. In the junior and senior years some of us specialized, that is, we took "honors" in one or two subjects, my own being English and Philosophy.

There were certain courses that all the intelligentsia (though I do not think that word had yet come in) felt it both a privilege and an obligation to take. One of these was Politics 1-2, given by Charles A. Beard and his able, grave, and handsome young assistant, Arthur Macmahon.

In those days there was a habit of applauding, by a stamping of the feet, anything interesting or odd said by a professor. There was also such—and much—stamping at the end of a particularly striking or eloquent lecture. I do not recall just when that custom died out, but I think it was early in the thirties. Perhaps the serious atmosphere of the depression made the fashion seem childish. But in my own undergraduate days it was a very widespread practice, especially in the famous lecture courses like Beard's. Few of us had read his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, and there was nothing really startling about his formally organized *American Government and Politics*, but there were many provocative and fresh things about his lectures, pointed sallies delivered in a drawling accent, containing bits of homely Indiana wisdom. The end of almost every lecture was punctuated by applause, as was true also of the lectures of John Erskine's celebrated course in Elizabethan Literature and Carlton Hayes's History 1 for sophomores, the sequel to History A, primarily a course in nineteenth-century Europe.

Frederick J. E. Woodbridge was a famous academic figure, later Dean of the Graduate Faculties. His History of Philosophy was a graduate course, but undergraduates at Columbia had the opportunity to attend graduate courses if, as juniors and seniors, they were qualified. Those

who took Woodbridge's course properly felt that they were in the presence of a great teacher and a noble spirit. At his best, with the bearing of a benevolent bishop, he seemed to speak with nothing short of the most highly disciplined mind and feeling conceivable. He communicated philosophy as vision and did so best of all when he was expounding Plato and Spinoza. The select and often self-conscious few who took the course spread the legend of this great man through the College.

There was not yet a department of fine arts, though Music 1-2 catered for the needs of those interested in music through Daniel Gregory Mason, who seemed to combine the spirit of both a gentleman and a composer. The incipient writers were served best by John Erskine. In his Elizabethan Literature course he was a virtuoso lecturer, who dramatized and illuminated every book he touched on in his discourse. In his writing course he was concerned always with a small group, never more than twenty, of those who had displayed creative powers and qualities as writers. He was a wonderful mentor and taught young writers the discipline of an art and the sense of and need for craftsmanship in writing. In a period when sentimental notions of the writer's function still flourished, he reminded us what we might make of our experiences and how we could look at our immediate world with the directness with which Homer looked at his, how not to muse and dream nostalgically about Greece, but to write about New York and Columbia University.

Other memorialists would remember other teachers: the quiet communication of scientific method by Professor James H. McGregor; the comic and the cosmic spirit made contagious by Professor Harold Jacoby, the astronomer; the anecdotal memory book of Brander Matthews in which one was brought at one remove into conversation with Mark Twain and William Dean Howells—for these were Brander's last years, and he was given more to reminiscence than to principles. There was also Carl Van Doren, easy and brilliant, and though he taught Victorian literature chiefly, he privately introduced many to the new currents of literature in the United States.

"What are we given, what do we take away?" Masfield asks somewhere. Of a college, as of life, the answer is difficult. Sentiment tends to foreshorten, and one looks back at those college years just before and during the first years of World War I and sees a simpler, more intimate place, though there is reason to think Columbia College, still not much larger than it was thirty-five years ago, has its intimacies and informal quality still. That cozy world of student companionship and of companionship with one's teachers is what some of us regard as the best

fruits of our years on Morningside. There, too, John Erskine was a special influence and remains a special memory. He was faculty leader of a lively group called the Boar's Head Society, whose members' talents and interests ranged widely, but who were all concerned with poetry, many of them with writing it. Some of us first learned there of the new movement in poetry, of Robert Frost and Amy Lowell, and of that austere lone eagle, Edwin Arlington Robinson. And there, too, we first learned that poetry is a technique as much as it is an ecstasy.

The towering John Jay Hall was not yet built in 1913, and, by present standards, little adequate provision existed for the social life of the undergraduates. There was the small basement room, the Gemot, in Hamilton Hall; there was the sprawling Commons in the then, and still, unfinished University Hall in the place now occupied by the IBM machines of the Controller's office. And there also was the Green, now invaded by the Pupin building and the Chandler Laboratories. Somehow or other, the campus publications and the campus clubs and societies managed to find place, to have room for their lively being.

In those days, perhaps more than now, the advantages of New York were very easily accessible. Theaters were cheap; for a dollar one could see a play from the balcony, and in a twenty-minute subway ride there were all sorts of exotic and inexpensive foreign restaurants to go to in the Village. The old-fashioned German beer gardens had not yet vanished, nor, for that matter, had the double-decked, open-top buses on Riverside Drive, nor the ferry boat to Fort Lee and the Palisades for walks on Sunday. The bicycle, it is true, had almost vanished, and the automobile was still a luxury not even remotely available to most undergraduates. The alarms of war were threatening during the years I was in college, but as from a distant planet, even though Carlton Hayes made Europe and its problems alive to us.

Only a few years later I began to look at Columbia College from the other side of the classroom desk. I was a young instructor who could scarcely have started teaching under more inauspicious world circumstances. This country was in the midst of war; there was an atmosphere of restlessness rather than of anxiety among the students and (for those were still naive days) a sense of cleansing adventure about war. A pair of very bad eyes put me in what was then called Class Five—"Mentally or Physically Deficient or Licensed Harbor Pilot"—and likewise made me at a very early age an instructor in Columbia College, for all the able-bodied young instructors had been drafted. I taught three sections of Introduction to Philosophy via Paulsen to freshmen who seemed, as fresh-

men have often seemed at Columbia (even later when I was relatively much older), surprisingly mature. Every teacher at Columbia College remembers noticing some student destined, he is certain, for remarkable intellectual achievement. In my very first class was a young man named Richard P. McKeon, fantastically learned and very acute. I did not foresee that he was to become one of the eminent names of American academic life as Dean of the University of Chicago and in his own right as philosopher and philosophic historian. But I did realize even then that one had to be on one's toes in teaching undergraduates in Columbia College.

The beginning of the second term I taught in Columbia was coincident with a singularly curious period in its history. The Army had established the Students' Army Training Corps (SATC), students in uniform but taking regular courses. The scheme was equally confusing to the Army and to the College, but by November, before the confusion could get much better or much worse, the Armistice came, bringing with it a new and good-natured chaos. Veterans began to pour in, and a special shuttle course of a month was invented to take place in January and tide the returning students over to the new term which began in February. An odd, unhilarious epoch and a set of one-month courses that all, including the teachers of them, were glad to say good-bye to.

During the brief Students' Army Training Corps period, the War Department had prescribed a War Issues course. Why not, it was proposed, have a course on the "issues of the peace"? The notion, as I recall it, was first broached by that earnest, drawling, charming Southerner, Benjamin B. Kendrick, a well-liked young professor of American History in the College. The idea caught fire, especially in the imagination of John J. Coss, just returned from service as a lieutenant colonel of personnel in Washington. A small group of us, Harry J. Carman, John J. Coss, Elmer Graper, Robert L. Hale, Robert D. Leigh (later President of Bennington College), and myself, worked all spring on a syllabus. John Coss and I were commissioned to write a short text for the portion on Human Traits and Their Social Significance with which the course was to begin, and with which for many years it did begin. Coss that summer became Director of the Summer Session and had to withdraw. To my surprise, I found myself under forced draft (stimulated and immensely helped by Professor Coss) spending the summer writing, alone and under my own name, a book for the section of the course for which, apparently, no viable text existed.

Contemporary Civilization has become so much a part of the Columbia College curriculum, and the general pattern and idea of the course has

been so widely adopted and adapted and imitated, that it is hard to realize how fresh a notion it seemed and how revolutionary a thing in Columbia College. There were a good many skeptics among some of the older and most respected members of the faculty. The adverse arguments ranged from the fact that such a course was unteachable to complaints that the discipline of the separate older required courses was indispensable. But holders of these objections were soon, if never completely, converted. The course clearly worked. The incoming freshmen, as I recall, had the sense of participating in a new and exciting educational adventure. Some of their teachers frankly told them that some of the material was as new to them as it was to the freshmen. Within a year or two, Columbia College seemed always to have had a course in C.C., as a decade later it seemed always to have had a course in the Humanities.

The College was filled with interesting students in the twenties, the best of whom were touched with the intoxication of a world in which much, including both exuberance and postwar disenchantment, was going on. A group of younger teachers was beginning to catch the student imagination, notably Raymond Weaver, whose course in Comparative Literature—he had succeeded Dana—was one of the famous *must* courses among electives; Mark Van Doren; and the fabulous, young John H. Randall, Jr., whose *Making of the Modern Mind*, written when its author was in his early twenties, not only became a standard part of Contemporary Civilization but exerted wide influence throughout the country. Soon Woodbridge's History of Philosophy had been taken over by Randall and became instantly one of the "great" courses. Harry Carman, later to be the Dean of the College, was already becoming a widely popular undergraduate teacher.

There were a number of undergraduates during the twenties who made their impressions on both their teachers and contemporaries: Meyer Schapiro, Jacques Barzun, Lionel Trilling, Francis Steegmuller, Edgar Johnson, Ferdinand Kuhn, Hugh Kelly, Harry Simon, Richard Watts. These young men, all of them since distinguished in writing, publishing, journalism, art history, or philosophy, are mentioned at random. But everyone who taught at Columbia College during the period could remember many more. Later on came Thomas Merton, John Berryman, Robert Giroux, Charles Frankel, and Herman Wouk, of *Caine Mutiny* fame. It should be said that these undergraduates were companioned by many, ultimately or not yet as well known, but constituting part of that general intellectual vivacity and freshness which has been part of the joy of teaching in the College.

These were wonderfully responsive young men to lecture to, but even better to converse with, an opportunity provided by the course in the great classics, first called General Honors and later Colloquium on Important Books. Some of my finest memories of teaching are of Wednesday evenings in Philosophy Hall with fifteen students, discussing a great book with such a group and a colleague from another department; one year it was Raymond Weaver, another, that quiet connoisseur, Henry K. Dick. The books: Plato's *Dialogues*, Augustine's *Confessions*, Montaigne, Goethe, Spinoza. . . .

A teacher on a college campus, especially at Columbia, has a special opportunity to watch the changing tides of feeling and idea. Undergraduates, especially the alert, well-informed youths who turn up so regularly at Columbia, reflect very early the new stirrings in art and politics, in society and letters. I recall the vogue of Mencken and the satiric *American Mercury* in the twenties, and the early Hemingway when every young man imagined himself a brave, gallant, disillusioned hero à la *The Sun Also Rises* or *A Farewell to Arms*. In the thirties, the time of the depression, one saw some of the brightest of the young men turn to the left, sometimes to the extreme left, as in the case of that now stalwart democrat, James Wechsler. Then there were the war years of World War II, when, most surprising of all, a great many students, threatened at any moment with interruption of their college life, seemed to value their studies rather more than ever before. Shortly after Pearl Harbor a group of students called on the late Dean Herbert E. Hawkes and asked whether classes might be continued through the Christmas vacation; students felt they might never be returning to classes at all. Some of us held classes during those Christmas weeks and undergraduates actually came and brought along friends from other colleges as well.

The war years seem strange and unreal memories. In the first place, many of one's colleagues, and not only the younger ones, were away in the services or in Washington, and every day brought letters (to those who remained) from all parts of the world, lonely outposts in India, the battlefronts of Italy, islands in the Pacific. Hardly a week passed that one did not learn of a former student killed in action. But the College went on, half the students in uniform in one of the college naval programs. Teachers of Greek found themselves pitching in and teaching physics or algebra, historians taught naval history and strategy. Every day another student was reported from the Dean's office as "absent on leave for military service," and one had a feeling that overnight a class might turn out to consist of no students at all. The semester system gave

way to the quarter system and the College functioned all-year round. Some predicted that this arrangement would survive the war. Happily it did not, and there are, I think, few who wish it had.

Now there have been eight years of what one may, one hopes, call the postwar world, and not, as the last postwar period proved, the between-wars world. There was the hectic era when veterans came back in droves, on the G.I. Bill, some of them ridiculously young-looking for people called veterans, some with scars physical or psychical and an air of having been through much, as indeed they had been. Some of the faculty found that the presence of the G.I.'s gave a tone of maturity to the College, even in a college where students generally are mature. Classes were too crowded, perhaps; there was a sense of hectic work and pressure for the staff, but there was a wonderful sense, too, of the presence of young minds for whom the ardors and endurances of war had served to accent the excitement and stimulation of knowledge. And it made some of us wish that there could, under more normal conditions, be scholarships freely available to all who merited them. Most of the original G.I.'s have gone from the scene, but new ones have come from Korea as well as from the occupation forces in Germany and Japan. Younger students are again facing, with quiet realism, the fact of the draft. The College is, nonetheless, a peacetime college, if that of a troubled peace. Already one sees students who will, one suspects, be as capable and effective as some of the bright predecessors one remembers. They are greatly concerned with what some of their elders are concerned with: the perils to the free world and also to freedom in the free world. They must also take thought about what concerned their predecessors and will concern their successors—their futures, in which the large interruption of military service looms as it never loomed for undergraduates at Columbia forty years ago.

To this memorialist, observant of Columbia College for forty years since he was a freshman, time has brought a sense of change, but a sense of permanence, too. The great figures of his own college days are nearly all vanished—retired or deceased. John Erskine died only a few years ago. Charles A. Beard, James Harvey Robinson, Woodbridge, John J. Coss, Burdette Kinne, Raymond Weaver, and Henry K. Dick are gone. Joseph Wood Krutch is retired, as is Harrison Ross Steeves. Some of those I knew when they were undergraduate students and proudly boast of as former pupils are now my distinguished colleagues—Jacques Barzun, Lionel Trilling, Herbert Deane, Meyer Schapiro. There is a new, imaginative Dean of the College, Lawrence Chamberlain. There are new

moves afoot in the way of curricular changes; the short-lived course in general science will some day doubtless rejoin the course in Humanities and Contemporary Civilization. There will be a further development of specialized seminars in the Upper College. The impact of a cold war and atomic fission have changed the face of the world and the effect on thought and feeling in both the College staff and its students. But far from completely. For Columbia College is still a quiet, continuing forum of ideas, a center of study and education in the liberal arts and of the liberal imagination. And it is still, to some of us, the heart of the University.

I

THE VAN AMRINGE AND KEPPEL ERAS

by Lionel Trilling

ON THE EVENING of May 4, 1894, some four hundred guests assembled in the Library of Columbia College to do honor to the retiring Dean of the College, Professor Henry Drisler, and to welcome his successor, Professor John Howard Van Amringe. More than most institutions in the United States, academic communities cultivate the memory of their own pasts, and occasions such as the reception for the old and the new dean are calculated to arouse whatever sense of history may be available to the participants. It was inevitable that the awareness of the past should be especially thick on that May evening in the Library. The guests included members of the College classes as far back as that of the retiring Dean, the class of '39. Henry Drisler represented the College of Park Place. The great sycamores which shaded its buildings had long since been cut down and were remembered now by only a few very old men. Van Amringe represented what Drisler no doubt still thought of as the new College of 49th Street. But the new College itself was already on the verge of becoming a memory. Since 1857, when the 49th Street site had been chosen, the College buildings had been conceived to be merely temporary, and now at last the plans for the removal to a permanent home on Morningside Heights had been drawn up and agreed upon. The company in the Library was aware that the present they now shared

was on the point of yielding to a massive and commanding future.

The speech that Professor Drisler made on the occasion was what it might have been expected to be, a reminiscence of the Columbia College of his own student days and a salute to the new and expanded College which was about to become the University. Van Amringe's address was also what might have been expected; it undertook to define the nature of the undergraduate college over which he was to preside. In many ways it was but a conventional speech, yet no one who has ever been a member of Columbia College, either as a student or as a teacher, will fail to perceive its special intention, seeing beyond the gracious pieties to the polemic which Van Amringe was waging. The great Professor John Burgess, if he was present on the occasion, as he probably was, would have been wholly aware of what that special intention was; he would have understood that, with all due courtesy, Van Amringe was pleading for a resistance to what Burgess stood for.

What Burgess stood for cannot but commend itself to us. He represented the idea of a university. The Trustees of the expanding Columbia College had brought him to New York to help in the realization of that idea. He stood for intellect and scholarship, scholarship of a new kind, heroic in its aims, proud, almost arrogant in its claim upon men's praise and support.

Burgess, born in south-central Tennessee, had shared the Unionist sympathies of his father and had suffered the hostility of his secessionist neighbors. Escaping to the Union lines in 1862, he had enlisted in the Federal Army, and his experience of war led him to vow that he would devote his life "to teaching men how to live by reason and compromise instead of by bloodshed and destruction."¹ At the end of the war, unable to return to his native South, he attended Amherst College and there conceived his passion for history and the social sciences. He was admitted to the Massachusetts bar, but he never practiced, for he accepted the post of Professor of History and Economics at Knox College, Illinois. In 1871, at the age of twenty-seven, having come into possession of the means of foreign study, he went to Germany. He had been brought to the notice of George Bancroft, then minister to Prussia, and under Bancroft's direction he attended the German universities—Göttingen, Leipzig, and Berlin—and worked under the best of the professors of the great German historical school. Upon the completion of his studies in 1873 Amherst appointed him Professor of History and Political Science. In 1876 the Trustees of Columbia College invited him to fill the professorship of

¹ John W. Burgess, *Reminiscences of an American Scholar* (New York, 1934), p. 29.

History, Political Science, and International Law. He was at first reluctant to accept. Like two other famous Columbia professors of a later time, Erskine and Woodbridge, Burgess had found in Amherst a way of life which had for him an almost magical charm and which seemed the very opposite of the way of life that Columbia offered. But, as Erskine and Woodbridge were to do, he chose Columbia.

The part that Burgess played in the development of Columbia University can never be underestimated. He had it in mind to make of Columbia College a university on the German model, devoted to scholarly research and the training of men in the modern methods of scholarship. English academic life suggested to Burgess no competing ideal; with English scholarship and the English university he had little sympathy, for in Oxford and Cambridge research was not systematically carried on, and the students, preponderantly undergraduates, were not in training to become professional scholars.

Burgess must often have despaired of his dream. By his own account, he had little respect for the College as he found it. The School of Law faculty, with which he was to be connected, consisted virtually only of Professor Theodore W. Dwight, and although Dwight was, in Burgess's own view, the most successful teacher of law in the country, still he taught only "private" law and had no interest in the great questions of social principle which agitated Burgess. The School of Mines had a faculty that Burgess could respect, but it was at best a technological school. As for the School of Arts—"the College proper" as it was often and depressingly called—it was, Burgess said, "a small old-fashioned college, or rather school, for teaching Latin, Greek, and mathematics and a little metaphysics, and a very little natural science."²

Some measure of the nature of the College may be inferred from the quality of its library, which might well have seemed inadequate even to a man who took no more than an ordinary pleasure in reading, but which must have been a nightmare to a scholar, for the librarian allowed books to be drawn for no more than an hour and a half daily, and, as Burgess recalled, "he generally seemed displeased when anyone asked for a book and positively forbidding when asked to buy one."³ In the Faculty which was content with this state of affairs Burgess found little to respect. With the exception of the physicist Ogden N. Rood, whom he called the genius of the faculty, he found his colleagues eccentric and deficient in knowledge. He could grant that Drisler's classical scholarship was excellent in its way, but the way was not the modern way, and Drisler's mind

² *Ibid.*, p. 161.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

was narrow and provincial, incapable of seeing beyond its native city, and so passionate in its commitment to Columbia College that it was stubbornly ignorant of and indifferent to all other academic institutions. As for Van Amringe, Burgess spoke of him as "the jolly good-fellow of the group," a great smoker, a great frequenter of clubs, careless of money, careless of himself, for he somehow was always breaking an arm or a leg. Burgess did indeed respond to Van Amringe's courage and unselfishness—"no one could know the man and not love him," he said—but his best praise is touched with intellectual condescension, and he represents Van Amringe as sharing Drisler's fault of being a provincial New Yorker, a provincial Columbia College man without awareness of any institution save his own. "He was therefore," Burgess says, "the ideal college patriot, and consequently the idol of the students and the alumni of the College."⁴

Our sympathies must go with Burgess in many ways. He stood for intelligence, and intellect, and scholarship, and the service which scholarship might render to the human race by imparting a wide and objective view of men's affairs. No one can claim a greater part than his in establishing in this country the professional study of the social sciences—or, indeed, in establishing the general profession of scholarship. As for Van Amringe, although he has long been the object of an enthusiastic piety which is no doubt deserved, the claim has never been made for him that he was a man of notable intellectual achievement, or that he was especially committed to intellectual things, or that he took a broad view of the world. In his autobiography, John Erskine, who certainly was not lacking in affection for the traditional aspects of the College, said with at least a little asperity that Van Amringe was a dean who showed his preference for athletes and his contempt not only of "grinds" but even of students with an interest in the arts.⁵ Yet as we read what Van Amringe spoke on that May evening sixty years ago, we cannot fail to see that he truly understood the meaning of a liberal education and the right nature of an undergraduate college. It is possible to say that his impetus to true understanding was his "college patriotism." His loyalty to Columbia College may indeed have been, as Burgess said it was, provincial. If so, Van Amringe's provincial loyalty brought him greater wisdom than Burgess's wide view and passion for training productive scholars.

Burgess had his own idea of what an undergraduate college should be. Its function was, he said, "gymnastic"—it was to do, that is, what the

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵ John Erskine, *The Memory of Certain Persons* (Philadelphia, 1947), p. 71. Later quotations reproduced by permission of J. B. Lippincott Company.

German *gymnasium* did, give the students the tools of learning by means of drill and from textbooks. These tools the student was to use in the higher schools of the university which trained for the practical professions and for scholarship. And, according to Burgess, the university teacher was a different order of being from the college teacher—what he imparted in his lectures was always original with him, always the fruit of his own researches and thought; the college teacher was in contrast but a school-master of superior sort.

Van Amringe in his speech of the evening protested against any imputation to him of indifference or coldness to the developing University; if he ever was thought to show either, he said, it was only through a mistaken interpretation of his particular concern and tenderness for the College. His feelings for the College being what they were, we may say that he had reason to be rather more than tender, he had reason to be sore. Only five years earlier the question had actually been broached whether the effort to “elevate” the College work would not be materially advanced by the abolition of the School of Arts, the “College proper,” which had once been the College itself. No less a personage than President Frederick A. P. Barnard had been the proponent of that idea. It had been defeated: at their meeting of February 14, 1889, the Trustees, on the motion of Chairman Hamilton Fish, went on record as resolving that “it was not expedient to dispense with the School of Arts as part of the College.” But although Van Amringe expressed himself as believing that the rejected idea of abolishing the School of Arts was not likely to present itself again, it is clear he feared it all too possible that the undergraduate school would be treated as but a secondary concern of the new University. This is apparent in the politic insistence with which he said that the danger need no longer be feared; no one need suppose, he said, that the development of the university idea portended the surrender by Columbia College of any part of her “privilege of making men for the sake of making professional men and scholars.” The word “privilege” was carefully chosen, for with it Van Amringe meant to remind his hearers of the original charter of the College, which, implying much about making men, said nothing at all about the making of professional men and specialists.

Making men: how many educational administrators, in Van Amringe’s time and since, have veiled an inadequate curriculum behind these words! But Van Amringe’s use of the phrase was given a reality by the actual situation. The tendency of the developing Columbia of the time was indeed toward making professional men and specialists. All the progressive ideas of the period supported the tendency. The German universities

could display triumph after triumph of every kind of scholarship, triumphs that were unmatched in any other land. Serious men in the United States looked for the same kind of academic progress and took but a dim view of the intellectual life available to undergraduates and to those who taught undergraduates. The very elements of collegiate life which were establishing themselves in American song and story—the stein on the table, the overarching elms, the long hours of noisy talk or boisterous fun, the pleasures of friendship—all such charms served to strengthen the indictment which was being drawn up against the American college, an indictment which was to be reiterated for almost half a century—until the end of the 1920's. During the period when the undergraduate college was establishing itself as one of the most important factors of American culture, it was under constant attack as serving idle and useless boys, whose leisure a busy, expanding nation never wearied of scolding, perhaps out of envy. If academic life was to be countenanced, it had to be like the academic life of Germany, also a busy and expanding nation; it had to be strict, “productive,” able to show “results.” And certainly, if we have in view the intellectual quality of most undergraduate colleges of the time, the progressive party was in the right of things. The sciences and disciplines were tied to the routine of undergraduate teaching and limited by what the undergraduate mind could comprehend. How many potential scholars had devoted their powers to the “gymnastic” training of idle boys, until the day came when all hope passed of those powers ever being put to the use of original and creative work!

And yet it was not the progressive but the conservative party that was in the end to be proved right. The conservatives fell back on the Renaissance ideal of the whole man, and on the ideal of the gentleman, of the honorable and responsible citizen of enlightened and gracious mind. It would have been difficult for Van Amringe and his group to demonstrate in just what way the College “made men”; they could scarcely have shown how Greek and Latin and mathematics and a little metaphysics could have had the moral effect they were said to have. Van Amringe may have been speaking out of a prejudice which derived from the provinciality of Old New York and from the provinciality of the crusty classical tradition, for he had aspired to be Professor of Latin and Greek before he became Professor of Mathematics. But the prejudice, if we are to call it that, was in entire accord with John Erskine's belief that humanistic studies were of the first importance in collegiate education, a belief which was to establish itself in the Columbia College of a later day and to have its decisive effect upon collegiate education all over the coun-

try. Van Amringe could not have explained how the undergraduate college as he conceived it "made men," but then neither could the later Faculty of the College have made a full formulation of why it believed that the course in the Humanities, now one of the foundation stones of the College curriculum, should be required of all freshmen as essential to their education as men. When the course had been established, Raymond Weaver, one of its proponents, a man very unlike Van Amringe and as far removed from provinciality as a man can be, was asked to speak at a College meeting to explain the new course; Weaver would say no more, and thought no more should be said, than that the instituting of the Humanities course was "an act of faith."

Van Amringe's speech, then, may be thought of as laying down the line which the College was eventually to take after many divagations and vicissitudes, and as defining the true law of the College's being.

In many respects, however, and for years to come, Burgess's view of things was to prevail over Van Amringe's, and, as we follow the Dean's annual reports over the years, we see that their writer was required to engage in never-ending defense of the idea of liberal collegiate education. President Seth Low had no disposition, such as President Barnard had had, to abolish the undergraduate school entirely, and Van Amringe could quote with approval Low's very sensible remarks in definition of the nature and function of such a school. And it was under Low that Van Amringe's proposal was accepted that the name of Columbia University should be applied to the whole community of schools and that the undergraduate school should be known not as the School of Arts but as Columbia College.⁶ But although it was something to have the official assurance of continued existence, and although it was something to have a name, the life of Columbia College was not to be untroubled or even, really, secure. Between Columbia College and its University there was not the same relation that obtained between certain undergraduate colleges of the eastern seaboard and the great universities that developed from them. Columbia University did not, like Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, make the old undergraduate college of its original charter the center of its interest, the recipient of its first attention, the mainstay and first principle of its life, allowing other schools to grow up around it but never to dominate it. Indeed, at Columbia the contrary was true. A notable example of the University's attitude is the fact that the move to Morningside Heights

⁶ Although this change was made in 1896 in all documents and communications, the Trustees did not legally become the Trustees of Columbia University in the City of New York until 1912.



Detroit Photographic Co.

SOUTH COURT, 1903
College Hall (now Alumni House) is in the foreground;
here Van Amringe had his office



WHEN HARTLEY HALL WAS NEW

in 1897 left the undergraduates without any local habitation. It was not until 1907 that Hamilton Hall was built as "the home of Columbia College." At the time it was adequate in size but not adequate in its facilities; it was scarcely more than a classroom building with some offices and a modest library. What could have been sadder as a place for undergraduate lounging than the Gemot in the basement of Hamilton, which was "hailed" when it was established in 1911 by gift of the Class of 1881 and which in time became so shabby and dismal that scarcely anyone thought to regret it when it was made over into offices for the Bureau of Educational Research?

With the years, and as early as 1916, Hamilton Hall was not even adequate as a classroom building. Proper provision for physical exercise, which no one supposes to be the least in conflict with intellectual earnestness, has never been adequate for the young men of the College. It is a commonplace gesture of moralizing to shake the head over the extravagant expenditures on physical plant that many American colleges have made, and no doubt a college beautiful but dumb is a sad anomaly. Yet the fact is that an intellectual community, especially an intellectual community of young people, must have its particular home and one which expresses the pride and pleasure which the community has in its own existence. Such a home Columbia College has never had.

The material disadvantages under which the College has worked make the tenacity of its purpose and the standard of its intellectual excellence the more remarkable. More often than is perhaps known, it has served as the criterion and measuring rod of other and presumably more advanced parts of the University. Yet the physical restriction of the College has always been a matter of complaint among the alumni and has even, at times, been a cause of their alienation from the University. The fullest expression of such feelings was the act of the Class of 1921 when it published in 1941 its *Survey of the Relationship of Columbia College to Columbia University*, which went so far in its criticism of the relationship it touched upon as to find evidence of a trend in the policy of the University that "forebodes the gradual disestablishment of the College as an academic unit." This was a fear in excess of the facts, yet the conclusion and the painstaking study which led to it serve to suggest the kind of apprehension which the situation of the College has aroused even in recent times among many of her devoted sons.

To the inadequacy of the physical accommodation of the College may be traced the belief of many of the alumni that the College establishment ought to be moved to a country site. The idea is a constant one in the

history of Columbia and it was frequently discussed by the Trustees from 1854 on. In 1925 John Erskine, as chairman of a committee, addressed a letter to President Nicholas Murray Butler to convey the sentiment of the Class of 1900, which, at its twenty-fifth reunion, unanimously supported a resolution to the effect that the University should establish Columbia College on a new site "somewhere along the Hudson as near as possible to Baker Field."⁷ In all likelihood, the continued feeling for a rural or at least separate and expansive location for the College would not have survived had an adequate provision, consonant with urban circumstances, been made for the undergraduates. The failure to make such provision, or, indeed, even to conceive of it,⁸ reflects the uncertain place which the College had in the University scheme of things during the first two decades at Morningside.

But these matters did not trouble the undergraduates who, in 1897, moved with the College from the crowded halls on 49th Street to the makeshift quarters provided for them on Morningside Heights. The locality was at that time still largely undeveloped; there were open fields about the University area which must have substantiated the feeling of many students that they were pioneers of an American Acropolis.⁹ There have been few times in the history of the nation when the sense of intellectual adventure was so strong and so explicit.

Although the time when the Faculty was to play so pre-eminent a part in the intellectual life of the country still lay some years ahead, there was a lively expectation of good things from the Faculty. In 1897 it was still small enough for personal characteristics to appear in full light and for differences of regional origin and academic training to be noted and re-

⁷ Erskine to Butler, September 1, 1925 (University Files).

⁸ When President Butler replied to the proposal of the committee of the Class of 1900, he remarked: "It is an interesting coincidence that the letter was received by the Trustees on the very day when the cornerstone for the new Students' Hall was laid. This is the building [i.e., John Jay] which, after having been planned and discussed for forty years, is now shortly to be completed as the center point of the life and work of Columbia College." By "an interesting coincidence" Dr. Butler surely meant an ironic coincidence—but the irony is now to be seen as inverted: no one now thinks that John Jay approaches adequacy as a center for the life and work of Columbia College. It should be said, however, that although Dr. Butler's view of what material establishment was needed for the life and work of Columbia College was all too limited, his reasons for not considering the separation of the College from the University are cogent in many respects. See Butler to Erskine, October 6, 1925; Erskine to Butler, November 19, 1925 (University Files).

⁹ I do not know whether research has been done in local social history to substantiate my impression that the neighborhood was sought out by literary and artistic people and that it acquired something of the character of a respectable Bohemia.

sponded to. Thus John Erskine, whose account of this time is the fullest we have, makes much of the effect upon freshmen of two young instructors of composition, George Clinton Densmore Odell and William Tenney Brewster. Odell was many years away from the Roman-senatorial figure he was to become, and although he was already white-haired in his twenties, he was, by all reports, strikingly handsome in a romantic way. Brewster, whose later career was to be identified with Barnard College, was as prepossessing as Odell in manner and appearance, although in a more conscious way, for he was an outlander, having been bred in Boston and trained at Harvard, and he astonished the undergraduates by his certitude that Boston was in every point of civilized life preferable to New York. Odell, a graduate of Columbia College in the Class of 1889, was to mark his devotion to the city of New York by his monumental history of its theater. It was from the example of these two courtly young men that Erskine learned, as he says, the importance of treating students with grave courtesy.

Even more notable for the significance of his manner and his cultural background was Professor Thomas R. Price. During the Civil War Price had served on the staff of his cousin, the great Southern cavalry leader, General J. E. B. Stuart; he was an unreconstructed Virginian who did not accept the Southern defeat except as he felt it proper to make polite concession to the people among whom he now lived. Price had an enormous range of scholarship. A precocious student, he had gone at an early age to Germany for his Greek and his Oriental languages. Interrupting his studies at the outbreak of hostilities, he had run the Northern blockade to return home to fight. After the war, following General Lee's example, he had undertaken to aid the reconstruction of the South through education. He taught English and modern languages at Randolph-Macon College and then had succeeded Basil Gildersleeve as Professor of Greek at the University of Virginia, where he had also been in charge of instruction in Hebrew. He read some twenty languages and spoke at least six with fluency, and he had a passion for literature and a generous wish to encourage any student who might be thought to be a writer.

Brander Matthews was as different from Price the Virginian as he was from the New Englander, George Edward Woodberry. Between Woodberry and Price there were bonds of affection and admiration; their respective idealism transcended their differences in regional culture. Between Price and Matthews there was polite hostility; between Matthews and Woodberry there was to develop open war which resulted in Woodberry's resignation from the University. Matthews was a member of the

self-sufficient New York society which Edith Wharton has described in its various historical stages. He was passionately devoted to Columbia College in the way that Burgess had found rather contemptibly provincial in Van Amringe, and, indeed, loyalty to old associations may be said to have comprised the full range of his capacity for idealism. He was flamboyantly a worldling, at home wherever elegance, comfort, and distinguished company were to be found, a man of club lounges and theater greenrooms. He held his University post with some irony and gave the same amusing lectures from the same set of notes year after year. His passion for the living theater and his belief that a play has existence only when it is performed made as small concession as they might to the demands of academic scholarship. He had certain successes of a limited kind as a critic, novelist, writer of light verse, and adapter of foreign plays to the American stage. He believed that literature was best regarded as a profession of a genteel sort, or as an avocation; he deplored its being regarded as a necessity of the spirit. He was consciously and conscientiously a snob, and his snobbery was touched with malice, but Lloyd Morris, who as a student knew Matthews a decade later and who gives us the engaging picture of the shining coupé drawn by two fat horses in which the professor was driven twice weekly to the University, speaks of his friendliness and of the hospitality he dispensed in his West End Avenue home. And despite all the ironic regard Matthews turned upon the academic commitment, he had his own place in the process of education. "Mere association with him proved educative," says Morris; "he sharpened one's perceptions in the theater; he forced one to justify critically one's intuitive preferences in art; and, out of his passionate love for French culture, he led one to Madame de Lafayette, to Stendhal, to Benjamin Constant, Diderot, Chateaubriand, Anatole France."¹⁰ It was not a little to do for a student.

Woodberry was in every possible respect of mind and temperament the opposite of Matthews. As against the opulent New York of Matthews's youth, Woodberry had been reared in Beverley, Massachusetts, the descendant of a long line of ship captains, and the atmosphere of his youth had been one of piety and plain living. He had been educated at Exeter and Harvard. His career in teaching and writing before his appointment to the Columbia faculty had not in the least established his fortunes, but it had won for him a considerable measure of respect, and during his years at Columbia he was to become the object of a unique devotion on the

¹⁰ Lloyd Morris, *A Threshold in the Sun* (New York, 1943), pp. 83-84. Reproduced by permission of Harper and Brothers.

part of his students. Opinions will differ as to the value of Woodberry's contributions as a critic and as a poet, and perhaps not many in these days will find themselves in accord with the high estimate of his position in American letters which has been made by Dr. Joseph Doyle in his extensive biography of Woodberry, a recent doctoral dissertation in the University. But of the effect of Woodberry upon his students there can be no doubt whatever. The young men who came under his influence formed a body of disciples whose personal loyalty lasted through his life and whose devotion to his memory lasted through their own lives. He was distinguished by the undergraduates from all their other professors—he alone was waited for if he was late to class. His voice was so low that he could not easily be heard in the rear seats of a large classroom, and many students made a point of keeping free the hour before his lecture so that they might be sure of coming early to find seats in the first rows. He made no concessions to popularity or, indeed, to pedagogy. His charm lay in what he said and in the entire sincerity with which he said it. His appeal for the undergraduates, apart from his personal concern for their intellectual well-being, seems to have consisted in his passionate certainty that literature had something, had everything, to do with life. He was not a religious believer, but he was a man of great natural piety for whom the spiritual life was everything, and his young students responded to the wholeness of this commitment.

The presence on the faculty of Woodberry and of Edward MacDowell, the composer, represented the laudable effort of the University to bring into the academic life men who were devoted to the arts in other than academic ways. Neither man, as it turned out, was fitted for the academic life as it then existed, although it would be less than fair, in either instance, to put the whole blame for their separation upon the University alone. Their resignations left wounds that were long in healing, yet their having taught in the University, Woodberry for twelve years, MacDowell for eight, cannot but be counted for good. To the student body of the time they were of especial significance, for we must be struck by the humanistic and artistic interest which characterized the young men of the earliest Morningside days. It was not merely that many of them were to be professionally devoted to humanistic studies, like Dino Bigongiari, John Erskine, Frederick W. J. Heuser, Joel Elias Spingarn, and Harrison Ross Steeves, to mention only those who became eminent as scholars and teachers in the University, or to literature as a profession, like Henry Sydnor Harrison, Simeon Strunsky, and Edward Larocque Tinker. What one also observes is their humanistic versatility:

John Erskine was almost as much committed to music as to letters; Hans Zinsser was a contributor to *Morningside* and a devoted student in the Department of Comparative Literature before being drawn to the interest in biology which was to lead him to eminence as a bacteriologist, and he was a gifted amateur musician; Alfred Einstein Cohen, to become famous as a medical research scientist, was a student of music and literature; Melville Cane, to become distinguished in law, was, and continues to be, an accomplished poet and was well-trained in music; Henry Alsberg, known as a leading New York lawyer, was remembered by Erskine as "the strangely gifted Henry G. Alsberg, poet and cello player"; ¹¹ Robert L. Schuyler, one of the leading historical scholars of the University, played the violin in the Varsity Show orchestra; Joseph Proskauer edited the *Literary Monthly*; and Frederick Keppel, later Dean of the College and head of the Carnegie Corporation, was one of its contributors.

This interest in the arts and this humanistic versatility, as I have called it, are of course not uncommon among undergraduates of more recent times, but one has the impression that they were unusually strong at Columbia College in the early *Morningside* years. This may account for the fact that the professors of the artistic disciplines seem to play an especially important part in the legend of the University at this time. But, as Hans Zinsser tells us, "there were great teachers of science at Columbia in those days." Zinsser was not wholly drawn away by science from the Department of Comparative Literature, which was, in effect, Woodberry, but in his junior year he came to feel "as though [he] had suddenly entered a new world of wonders and revelations, on the top floor of Schermerhorn Hall under the reign of Edmund B. Wilson and Bashford Dean." These men and their assistants, Gary N. Calkins, Oliver S. Strong, and James H. McGregor, were, as Zinsser says of them, "the direct spiritual offspring of the magnificent group of biologists that followed in the wake of the Darwinian period," ¹² and their example was decisive for Zinsser's professional career. Ogden Rood was still teaching physics at the age of seventy, and even to a student like Erskine, who was not notably interested in science, it meant much to watch his methods and to see his mind at work. Charles F. Chandler was a great name in chemistry; students who were committed to his science admired and loved him, and his lectures captured and held the interest of undergraduates whose major intellectual concerns lay elsewhere.

The Department of Greek and Latin necessarily played a considerable

¹¹ Erskine, *Memory of Certain Persons*, p. 81.

¹² Hans Zinsser, *As I Remember Him* (Boston, 1940), p. 48.

part in the life of the undergraduate in those days, but Erskine, who had come to love Latin literature through an admirable training under Dr. Bacon at Columbia Grammar School, does not speak in praise or with affection of his College teachers in the classics. He excepts a young teacher, Henry Jagoe Burchell, whose instruction in Horace's *Odes* and in Catullus charmed and surprised his students by implying that they were dealing with real men and real poets. But Burchell left Columbia and withdrew from teaching, presumably having found that his humanistic gifts were thought by his superiors to stand in the way of his scholarship and his possible academic advancement. "Other teachers remained," Erskine says, "to carry on a strictly scholarly tradition, by exhibiting Herodotus and Sophocles, Vergil and Lucretius, as though each were that triumph of the conserving art, a mummy."¹³ Among these was the famous and eventually to be notorious Harry Thurston Peck, a man of large scholarship as well as of lively literary intelligence, whose connection with the modern world—he was, among other activities, editor of the *Bookman*—and whose assiduous worldliness might have equipped him to speak of Horace and Catullus with his own intimacy and authority. The scandal in which Peck ended his days in consequence of his amorous indiscretions was to be one of the unhappy incidents of the University annals in the next years.

The vivacity with which the Morningside period began did not diminish during the next decade. If anything, it increased as the older and more traditional minds retired from the scene and as the intellectual tempo of the century accelerated. Lloyd Morris, who entered the College in 1911, lived at home in Manhattan and went daily to his classes by streetcar and subway; there was nothing here of the conventional charm of the American college experience, yet Morris recalled the moment of his matriculation in the College as "touched with romance." He shared, he says, "the excitement of medieval predecessors who had trudged the slopes of Mont-Sainte-Geneviève. Like them, he felt himself among the privileged and elect. He was a student at a fortunate place, in a prosperous hour."¹⁴

Morris ascribed his expectation of good fortune almost entirely to the faculty under which he was to study.

At that moment, there existed at Columbia a constellation of remarkable minds whose effect on the intellectual climate was electric. A student needed

¹³ Erskine, *Memory of Certain Persons*, pp. 80-81.

¹⁴ Morris, *A Threshold in the Sun*, p. 79.

only to be receptive to find his own mind the target of ambient energies. But he needed to be hardy to support the intensity of their impact. Mere passive exposure might have thus constituted a kind of education, and perhaps not the worst. However, many of these catalytic forces happened also to be great teachers, for whom mere passivity held a taint of sin.¹⁵

For the student who, like Morris himself, or like Randolph Bourne, had an awareness of the possibilities of the intellectual life, the College with its close connection with the University was indeed a unique adventure. "Responsible liberty struck him [Morris] as the true spirit of the place." Not every student, as Morris implies, was accessible to that spirit, but many were.

Among the "ambient energies" Morris could include, as we have seen, the traditionalism and skepticism, even cynicism, of Brander Matthews. Woodberry had by now left the University, defeated in the struggle with Matthews which had aroused so much feeling among the students and which had become an all too public affair. But Woodberry's humanistic method of literary study had found a continuator in Erskine, who was then at the height of his intellectual and pedagogic energy. "His mind," says Morris, "was subtle, complex, erudite, and of a Socratic cast. The thrust of his intelligence was agile, strong, certain of its mark."¹⁶ Erskine's mind, it may be said, showed to best advantage on the academic scene, which provided him with the antagonists he needed and the subjects and the disputes that brought out his strength. The limits and limitations of a university served him better than he knew. He thought, indeed, that they did nothing but check and hamper him, but he was wrong. To the students of Morris's time he appeared as a revelation and a force.

With Odell, Erskine was in charge of the College work in English, which they shared with a small group of younger colleagues. One of these was Bayard Boyesen, son of the novelist, whom Erskine commemorates as "a civilizing influence in the department." Frank Humphrey Ristine went from his Columbia instructorship to a professorship at Hamilton College, where he was for many years, until his recent retirement, the chairman of his department. Harrison Ross Steeves, even as a young man, was known and admired and wondered at for the precision of his intellectual and personal manners, and he was to win this response from generations of undergraduates. "Steeves," as Erskine said of him, "liked the classroom as such, and never concealed the importance he attached to the purely academic experience."¹⁷ He was not the sort of

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁷ Erskine, *Memory of Certain Persons*, p. 200.

teacher who attracted the personal allegiance of students—indeed, he would have thought it unbecoming to do so—but he did not fail to win respect for the academic and personal virtues he embodied. He, if anyone could, carried the tone of the old Columbia College into the new time.

Among the group of young men in the English department it was naturally Carl Van Doren who most drew the attention of students. As Morris recalls him, “his massive frame and large motion set you thinking rather of the gridiron than of libraries. . . . He was well under thirty, and handsome in a boyish way. His brown hair fell in a quaint bang over a broad, lofty brow; his smile was sweet-natured and ingenuous.”¹⁸ He had come to Columbia from the University of Illinois and he had brought with him the middle-western sense of new things to come that was felt to be the characteristic note of the new American literary movement. To his students he gave the awareness of the social forces that shape a literature. He gave them too, as he was later to give to the public at large, the assurance of the value of American art and thought which they were not at that time likely to get in their academic experience.

In the departments of Public Law and History, the two great lights for an intellectually eager young man were Charles A. Beard and James Harvey Robinson. Some of the doctrines of these two men no longer have the unquestioned place that they once had in many minds. Beard’s economic interpretation of the Constitution, epoch-making in its day, is now likely to seem simplistic. Robinson’s explanation of the mind in the making is open to the same charge. Yet when all possible objections have been made, we cannot fail to be aware of the decisive part the work of the two men played in the development of the critical intelligence of the nation. To a student they gave the inestimable experience of powerful minds and strong personalities bringing an academic discipline to bear on the problems of actual life.

In philosophy John Dewey was of course the great name. To some College students who heard him in his graduate lectures he was a personal inspiration, and he gave to philosophy at once an immediacy and a prestige that were of great account in the intellectual tone of student life. But Frederick J. E. Woodbridge was closer to the life of the College and more accessible to those younger students who were attracted to philosophical studies. In the annals of American philosophy Woodbridge will not have a place comparable to Dewey’s; his writings are few and they do not do full justice to the qualities of his mind. But he was, as Morris says of him, “a singularly great teacher: powerful, magnetic, humane.

¹⁸ Morris, *A Threshold in the Sun*, p. 90.

in character and temper resembling those classic Greek thinkers whom he so greatly admired.”¹⁹ By temperament he was conservative in matters of opinion, but he did not expect the young to share his views; in personal relations he was of the most generous liberality. He loved to befriend the talent of the young and he continued to do so even from the bed on which he was bravely to live out his last invalid days.

Within recent years it has come to seem that the American undergraduate college has established itself at the very heart of our culture. Not merely is it taken for granted as the prerequisite for all professional and scholarly work, but it is assumed to be the chief means of education in any sense of the word which is at once precise and honorific. No doubt its function is still to a very considerable extent what Burgess called “gymnastic”; the whole of our educational system being what it is, it can be said of most American students that if they are to learn a language or science really well, they will in all likelihood make their first effective steps toward mastery not in their secondary school but in their college. Yet no first-rate college now conceives its function as primarily gymnastic. In 1835 Nicholas Biddle addressed these words to the graduating class at Princeton: “You have this day finished your education. You must now begin your studies.” The remark, from our present point of view, is perhaps extreme. We have been taught a set of pieties about education never being finished while the breath of life is within us; and then the fact is that many students do actually achieve their education through their studies. Yet the general import of Biddle’s words is true enough of our present academic arrangement. It is at college that the young American is taught to think of himself as a man looking before and after, as having at least some degree of responsibility for his own mind.

This acceptance of the American college which we now take for granted did not always obtain. Thus, Dean Van Amringe could write in his annual report of 1903: “I dissent wholly from the opinion sometimes expressed that the American college has served its purpose as a ‘lucky accident’ in a transition period, may now be dispensed with and its function divided between the high school and the university.”²⁰ The opinion against which Van Amringe entered his dissent was not in the end to prevail, but for a long time it had its very considerable effect upon the development of Columbia College and it very nearly did prevail.

One reason for the suspicion in which the undergraduate college was held in some quarters was the amount of time that it took in a young

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁰ *Annual Report*, 1903, p. 89.

man's life and the delay it occasioned in the initiation of his professional and financial independence. The problem, of course, is still with us and it has been made the more urgent by the years of military service which further delay the entrance of the young man into his professional life. But we move with considerably more circumspection than did the educational administrators who were first confronted by the lengthening maturation period of the professional man. The day had gone by when the first-rate professional schools accepted their candidates without college training. This was commendable as a means of raising the standards of instruction and even necessary as a means of encompassing the growing body of scientific knowledge, but it worked a considerable financial hardship upon middle-class families and of course a far greater hardship upon the ambitious poor young man. And toward the solution of the problem nothing seemed easier and at the same time more "progressive" than to curtail the length of collegiate study and to speak slightly of its value.

In this respect it is interesting to consider the development of President Butler's ideas on the question. In his report of 1902, Dr. Butler expressed his belief that "four years is . . . too long a time to devote to the College course as now constituted, especially for students who are to remain in university residence as technical or professional students." He looked to a time when the public high schools would tend "more and more to give the instruction now offered in the first year, or first two years, of the college course."²¹ In his next report he advocated the institution of a two-year course as an option to the usual four-year program. In 1905 he reported with pride that arrangements had been made for the acceleration of undergraduate studies. Students would now be admitted in February as well as in September. They might complete the 124 points required for their degree in as few as three years by entering with advanced standing and by attending summer sessions. It was now possible for them to take all prescribed work and a considerable portion of their required hours of elective work in the first half of the undergraduate course. The President then went on to announce the plan of "professional option," the "Columbia plan," as it was called, by which a student after two years of college might go on to one of the University's professional schools (with the exception of the School of Law, which required 94 points for admission). Dr. Butler summed up the meaning of the new arrangement in the following words: "The Faculty of Columbia College say explicitly that to prescribe graduation from a four year college course as a *sine qua*

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1902, pp. 35, 47.

non for the professional study of law, medicine, engineering, or teaching is not to do a good thing, but a bad thing." His own comment was: "Any culture that is worthy of the name and any efficiency that is worth having will be increased, not diminished, by bringing to an end the idling and dawdling that now characterize so much of American higher education." ²²

That there was idling and dawdling in the American college cannot be doubted, and now they were to be systematically exorcised and the college put at the disposal of the will of young men eager to get on to important things. Yet no later than 1909 President Butler begins to speak wistfully of the part that the college had once played in training for "the simple profession of gentleman." He praises the "generous and reflective use of leisure," which is, we remark, not always easily to be distinguished from the "idling and dawdling" which, in 1905, were to be got rid of, and he remarks that "the cult of the will has gone far enough just now for the good of mankind." ²³

The Columbia plan of professional option determined the character of Columbia College for years to come. It created the condition with which Van Amringe had chiefly to deal in the years that were still left to him in the deanship. Foreseeing the ratification of the plan, he had, in his report of 1903, advocated a three-year college course, the first two years being given over to obligatory work, the third year being not for professional or semiprofessional purposes but devoted to further study in the liberal arts and sciences. Having made this concession, by which he hoped to maintain the ideal of general education, Van Amringe went on to warn that "it would be a melancholy outcome if in efforts to minimize the time required for the A.B. degree, Columbia College should be subverted or degraded into a mere vestibule to a professional school." ²⁴

It is hard not to suppose that Van Amringe felt that such a subversion or degradation was already taking place. At times we hear what seems a note of discouragement verging upon despair in his reports. "The present undergraduate course of study," he writes in 1904, is "not consistent with the true purpose of an academic curriculum," which, he says, quoting a statement of a committee of the Trustees of nearly fifty years before, is not to impart special knowledge but to "fix habits of close attention and application and to induce the ready exercise of the reasoning faculties." ²⁵ He notes that students get rid of the obligatory courses

²² *Ibid.*, 1905, pp. 17, 18.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 90.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1909, pp. 28-29.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 83.

as quickly as possible—to Dr. Butler this was to seem an advantage—and as carelessly as possible and, at a time when the elective system was in full swing at Harvard and winning golden opinions everywhere, he observes that the College is offering too many elective courses. He takes a dimmer and dimmer view of the “combined course,” the Columbia idea of professional option. Again and again he observes that the students hold “the college part of the course” in low esteem and think of it as something to get through before really “‘getting to work.’” He views with justifiable horror what promises to be the final indignity laid upon the College, the proposal being considered that the College should give the bachelor’s degree to students who, having taken two years of work at other colleges, shall have successfully completed two years of work at one of the University’s professional schools.

Van Amringe retired in 1910 with many testimonies of the affection and honor in which he was held. He was succeeded by Frederick P. Keppel. The succession was a significant and a fortunate one. Van Amringe was a man of the old mold, a redoubtable if not an original mathematician, a classical scholar of the old commitment. In a period of experimentation, his conservatism was of the greatest value because he really had something to conserve. Keppel was of a very different temperament, which was yet complementary to that of Van Amringe. A graduate of the Class of 1898, he was, especially for that day, a youthful Dean. Where Van Amringe engaged the affections by reason of his crusty authority, to which his very whiskers contributed, and by seeming to embody in his bearing the moral force of learning and of the institution that imparted it, Keppel’s attraction was, in the modern way, blander and more intimate. His tenure of office was too short for him to become a legendary figure in the life of the College, but his memory is a fragrant one. Van Amringe had been virtually unapproachable by the undergraduates; he kept a closed door and business with him was apparently transacted through the agency of an office boy. But Keppel in his report of 1911 remarks that he has had 3,500 visits from students in his office and that a third of the student body had been entertained at the Dean’s house during the year; in 1913 there were 5,765 visits to the Dean in his office. The system of faculty advisers to students had been inaugurated in 1904 under Van Amringe who, despite his closed door, could speak with approval of “a growing companionship and intimacy” between students and faculty; under Keppel the adviser system soon reached the point where the Dean could speak of the problem of the overburdening of the men assigned to advisory work. It was under Keppel that the per-

sonal tone of the College in relation to its students became what it has since been. He was known for his friendliness and sympathy, and even the formidable Randolph Bourne, who, after a period of great affection for the College, had turned against it and had publicly satirized some of his former teachers in a very bitter way, never lost his warm personal regard for Keppel, whom he called "the kindest and most helpful of College deans."²⁶

It is with the advent of Keppel that we begin to see the College entering a new and more affirmative phase. The necessity for holding actions has certainly not yet passed, and in 1912 Keppel writes very much in Van Amringe's vein: "It is for us to see that Columbia College shall never be regarded as the by-product of successful professional schools, artificially fostered by a protective tariff in professional option."²⁷ But although such vigilance was still the order of the day, the College under Keppel moved toward the assertion of its own existence.

Keppel understood the developing nature of Columbia College as Van Amringe could not, by reason of his age and background. Van Amringe could be accused by Burgess of being aware of no other college than Columbia, and his ideals had been formed by his experience of a small college with a more or less homogeneous student body. Keppel had a comprehensive knowledge of American educational institutions and of what was happening within them, and he saw that Columbia could not be judged, except academically, by whatever in the other institutions was tending to form the notion of the "typical" American college. "Many of its most ardent friends," he wrote in his report of 1913, "are reluctant to face the fact that Columbia College is not now and so far as can be foreseen, never will be, a college of the conventional type."²⁸

Keppel was a sufficiently complex man—it is one of his attractions—and he was not, it would seem, without his wistfulness over the absence from the College of certain qualities that conventionality can bring. He wanted, and it was natural for him to want, a college that would really be a *collegium*, a community with its own peculiar life, putting its mark on its members, and he proposed that the College should prefer, in its selection of applicants for admission, those students who would live in the residence halls. He was wistful for that sense of the continuity of tradition which leads families to identify themselves with a college and to send to it generation after generation of their sons. "Among the entering students were eleven sons of Alumni," he wrote in 1911, "and also

²⁶ Louis Filler, *Randolph Bourne* (Washington, 1943), p. 24.

²⁷ *Annual Report*, 1912, p. 60.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 53.

one adopted son and four nephews. This is not as many as we might wish, but it is more than Columbia College is ordinarily credited with." He wanted for the College the national character which in fact it had never had in its old days, and he observed with pleasure that it could no longer be said that "Columbia is a national university with a local college."²⁹ He cites with pleasure the fact that less than one third of the students registered in 1910 were born on Manhattan Island, which, considering that Manhattan Island is but one of the five boroughs of New York City, may have been a somewhat disingenuous way of estimating the College's degree of localism. Yet at the same time that he wanted for Columbia College what the conventional college had, and emphasized those elements of its life that seemed to conform to the convention, he was aware that the College was being given its most truly characteristic qualities by local, urban circumstances which prevailed nowhere else, and had not prevailed even fifteen or twenty years before at the old Columbia College on 49th Street. The undergraduate body had increased greatly in size, rising from 154 in 1865 to 941 in 1914, and a very considerable portion of the students who had swelled the number came from ethnic and social groups not formerly represented in the College. Keppel speaks in praise of the "picturesqueness" of a student body which included men of Italian, Spanish, Czech, Turkish, Syrian, Hindu, and Chinese origin, and this is perhaps a little specious in him; but there can be no doubt that he is sincere in his pleasure when he says that the most striking characteristic of the College is now the "number of students who have really keen minds."

The increase of the number of undergraduates and the change in their ethnic and social composition was the direct result of a change in the College curriculum and in the requirements for admission which had been in process since 1897. In that year the entrance requirement of Greek was abolished. Latin was retained, all candidates for admission to the freshman class being required to pass examinations in that language, as well as in English and mathematics; but for examinations in Greek and French or Greek and German, which had formerly been required, a candidate might substitute examinations in advanced mathematics, French, German, and natural science. Students who offered Greek at entrance were not required to continue it in the College, but if they did not do so, they were required to take Latin in their freshman year. The students who did not offer Greek were also required to continue Latin for a year. In 1900 candidates for admission were permitted to enter the College

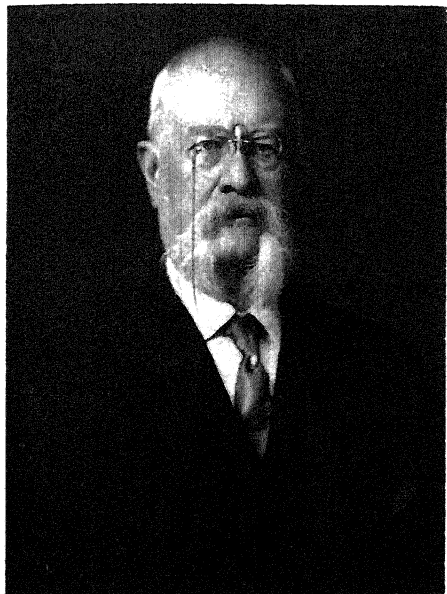
²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1911, pp. 58, 59.

with no Latin at all, although they were required to compensate for this by offering larger amounts of work in other subjects.

In 1905, the Trustees, upon recommendation of the Faculty of the College, which had been deliberating the matter since 1903, voted to establish a second form of the bachelor's degree, or, rather, to re-establish it, for the degree of Bachelor of Science had been awarded by the College during the years from 1882 to 1889, after which it had been abolished. The B.S. degree was to be awarded by the College for a decade to those who preferred subjects alternative to the classics. In 1914 Keppel made representations in his annual report to the effect that a large majority of the students in Columbia College who were candidates for the Bachelor of Arts degree found the Latin and Greek requirement burdensome and oppressive. He submitted figures to suggest how low the classical languages had fallen in undergraduate esteem: in 1913-14 there had been but 77 elections of Classics as against 785 elections of English and modern languages, 571 of History, Economics, and Politics, 410 of Philosophy and allied subjects, 320 of experimental science. The Committee on Instruction of the College Faculty expressed itself as of the opinion that the requirement no longer had adequate educational justification. Keppel also spoke of the Latin prescription at entrance as having probably kept many desirable students from entering the College. At that time and for some years thereafter, certain of the New York City high schools still taught Latin and taught it very well, but the prestige of the language was obviously on the wane, and instruction in it was not given in all the schools of the city, let alone throughout the nation. The diminishing emphasis on the classics over the years had made the College increasingly accessible to students from the New York high schools as against those from the private preparatory schools. Now, early in 1916, the Faculty voted to discontinue the degree of Bachelor of Science and to abolish the requirement of Latin for admission to the freshman class, and this decision was concurred in by the University Council and accepted by the Trustees.

Frank Bowles, formerly Director of University Admissions, says that no subsequent change in the entrance requirements was so basic as this one.

The abandonment of Latin as a requirement meant inevitably the abandonment of the entire system of education of which the classics were the symbol. Concretely, for entering students it meant a larger choice of entrance subjects, and for the first time, removal of emphasis on the preparatory school as the best means of making ready for Columbia. For it was true in 1916, as



JOHN HOWARD VAN AMRINGE
Dean, 1894-1910



FREDERICK P. KEPPEL
Dean, 1910-1917



COLLEGE STUDY, HAMILTON HALL, 1911

it is true today, that the public high schools did not emphasize Latin. When that subject was no longer required for college entrance, the public high school became more important as source of student supply.³⁰

The increase in the number of students from the city high schools made more pressing than ever before the problem of the College's social unity. It was one of the first matters to which Herbert E. Hawkes turned his attention upon succeeding to Dean Keppel's duties in 1917. In his report of 1918 he wrote of the young men "of good mind, serious purpose and definite ambition" who came to Columbia College not for the maturing process of a liberal education but each day, beginning at nine o'clock, to advance one day nearer their practical goal. And there is an asperity, not ungenial, but an asperity nonetheless, as Hawkes goes on to say of these young men that "they have no use for college affairs and regard Columbia less as an Alma Mater than as an *Efficiens Pater*." ³¹ It was out of the general unhappiness over this situation that President Butler, in 1917, had proposed that a junior college be set up for the students who wanted only two years of preprofessional work, a move that would permit Columbia College "to resume without further interruption or hindrance the natural lines of its own collegiate development." With this plan Hawkes was in enthusiastic accord. "It is my belief," he said, "that the time has come when it is imperative to bring about a separation of the undergraduates into two colleges, one of which shall retain the name, the traditions and the aims of Columbia College": this was to be a residence college homogeneous in its student body; the other college was to consist of men who live at home and who desire no more than the two years which shall prepare them for their entrance into professional schools.³² In his report of the following year, although he does not recur to the plan of two colleges, Hawkes is still wondering how he can achieve student solidarity.

The question was a real one. An American college is traditionally something more than a collection of courses, something more than an examining and accrediting body; it is generally conceived of as an institution to which certain emotions inevitably attach, at which the learning process is bound up with affections that are aroused primarily by the institution itself and in some degree by individual teachers. To anyone who has this notion of the collegiate existence, it will seem wrong and even offensive that a college should be conceived of by its students as nothing more than the instrument of their practical purposes. But there is an irony in the promptness with which the administrators deplore the

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1951, p. 4.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 65.

³² *Ibid.*, 1918, pp. 65-66.

Wrong Attitude of certain of the students. The young men who attended their classes from nine o'clock on, picked up from the Library what books they needed, and hurried home without a glance at the social life of the College were not merely showing an inborn lack of generosity of spirit; they were conforming to their President's view of a decade before, that there was too much idling and dawdling in American higher education. They were exemplifying his belief, and the whole University's belief, that young men should move as quickly as possible through their preparation for life. And this was a belief that had been, in a manner of speaking, built into the very stones of the College, of which there were so very few. President Butler had changed his views about idling and dawdling in favor of a "generous leisure," but what was to suggest generous leisure to a student of the College? What was to instruct him in the "profession of a gentleman"? Where could he lounge, where could he chat with his friends—where, indeed, could he hang his hat and coat? Hamilton Hall was the "home of Columbia College," and when it had been built Van Amringe had said that it would accommodate a college of 2,600 students. Now for a college of 1,256 students, Keppel complained in 1916 that it was too small, that the Registrar could not assign all College classes to it, that there were not enough offices for the staff.

The restoration of football in 1915, after it had been prohibited for a decade, is to be understood as being in part an effort to create the sense of collegiate solidarity among the students, for at that time College loyalty was almost synonymous with the passions that football aroused. Keppel expressed himself as pleased with the event, the only danger in it that he saw being "a tendency toward conventionalization of thought on the part of the students as to the relative values of the different elements in college life." And he went on:

With the return of football the students who seem inclined to appraise these values in the terms of college life as it has developed elsewhere have apparently increased in number, certainly their voices are more often heard. If Columbia College is to play its part, it seems to me its students must be prepared to serve it with their eyes open to recognize the wide differences between the environmental conditions, social, intellectual, and physical, here and those at institutions of the more conventional type. They must recognize that the presence or absence of football is an incident and not a controlling factor in the situation.⁸³

Keppel saw, that is, that it could not be the College's destiny to achieve its solidarity at the cost of its unique character and that nothing was to be

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1916, pp. 52-53.

gained by the refusal to accept the uniqueness of the College's situation.

Keppel had for some time been trying to solve the problem of collegiate entity in another of its aspects, one which had a closer connection with the matter of student solidarity than perhaps he himself saw. The composition and organization of the College Faculty were most unsatisfactory. This was in large part the result of the departmental system of the University, according to which a professor holds his appointment from a department and is assigned to a Faculty as the need arises or as the policy of his department dictates. As a result of this system, the Dean of Columbia College was not in a very full sense the head of his own Faculty; he was to a great extent dependent upon the good will of a department, or of a department head, as to who should be assigned to the College Faculty. In a university in which the emphasis was so largely upon scholarship and professional study, it could all too easily happen that the concerns of the graduate schools in matters of staff should take precedence over those of the College. In his report of 1907, President Butler had taken cognizance of the problem and had spoken of the need to reorganize the College Faculty to include only those whose chief work was the teaching of undergraduates, and in his report of 1908, in noting the formation of the Committee on Instruction, he said that better teaching in Columbia College depended on the building up of a body of "distinctively collegiate teachers . . . for the work of the Freshman and Sophomore years."³⁴ It was not until a good many years later that this complex administrative problem began to be satisfactorily solved, but under Keppel at least the principle of its solution was affirmed.

In 1912 Keppel wrote of the neglect of the College even by members of its own Faculty. "There were, for example, ten members of this faculty last year whose contribution to the courses conducted primarily for Columbia College students was less than three hours per week for the year."³⁵ He made the suggestion that each department should appoint a "collegiate representative" who should be in effect the head of his department in the College. He spoke of the problem of the relation of the established professor in relation to the College and proposed that juniors and seniors be permitted to elect elementary graduate courses so that they might have the advantage, or the satisfaction, of having been taught by these eminent men. But he placed his hopes for the effective intellectual life of the College in the employment of young instructors "of a type that can make up for relative inexperience by zeal." He found in such young men a "freshness in point of view and a sympathy in outlook"

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1908, p. 28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 60.

that led many of the students to prefer them to the more eminent professors, and he spoke of the advantages of giving courses in sections the staffs of which are composed of both older and younger men. Since Keppel's day Columbia College has relied greatly upon its junior staff. The zeal of these young men has not always been rewarded by promotion, and in the nature of the case cannot be; yet most members of the College Faculty have risen from the ranks of the junior staff, and it is fair to say that perhaps in no other college have the young men had, as a mark of the respect accorded to them, so large a part in the deliberations about curriculum and so great a measure of independence in their teaching.³⁶

The confidence which the College has shown in its younger men has been important in the development of its characteristic method of instruction, the relatively small class or "section." The system of large lecture classes has never been regarded with favor at Columbia. In his report of 1906, Van Amringe spoke in disparagement of lectures as a means of instructing undergraduates. "Generally speaking," he said, "a lecture does not fix the attention of a young student," and he remarked on the undergraduate belief that a course which was "only a lecture course" was not to be seriously regarded or faithfully attended if one could borrow the notes of an obliging and more dutiful friend.³⁷ The President in his own report the next year echoed the Dean's opinion, and five years later spoke out still more strongly against the lecture system. "The habit of conveying information to college students by means of lectures is wholly deplorable. It is not only a waste of time, since the printed page would be far better than the spoken word, but it leads to unfortunate and undesirable intellectual habits on the part of the student."³⁸ Dr. Butler's condemnation is excessive; for the communication of certain kinds of information, for producing a certain kind of effect by means of information, for the instruction in certain modes of thought, the living voice of a good lecturer is far superior to the printed page. But for the lecture to be effective the lecturer must have a degree of authority and vivacity which amounts to a kind of genius and is, therefore, not easily to be found. The relatively small class or section does not do away with actual lecturing by the teacher, as every teacher knows, but it does

³⁶ Keppel thought it unfortunate that Columbia custom forbade the inspection of the work of the young instructor in his classroom. But although there are of course dangers in this lack of direct supervision, they are more than compensated for by the sense of freedom, responsibility, and self-respect. The lazy instructor is a rare phenomenon; the constitutionally dull, or the confused, or the wilful instructor is soon heard of for his faults.

³⁷ *Annual Report*, 1906, p. 92.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 26.

create a situation in which the teacher communicates more directly with his students, in which the student, because he may at any time be "called on" or because he is permitted to express his opinion, even his objection to the teacher's opinion, is not permitted to lapse into that passivity which marks the member of a large lecture class and which is indeed "an unfortunate and undesirable intellectual habit." The small class has long been the preferred mode of instruction in Columbia College. The large "required" courses are not organized around the lectures of some eminent professor with an entourage of junior assistants to meet with the students for infrequent "discussion groups"; instead, the course is given in sections, and each teacher is responsible for the entire instruction of his own class. The advantages of this system have for some time seemed to the Faculty to be indisputable.

In 1914 Keppel could speak of the College Faculty as "coming more and more to be composed of men who understand Columbia College as it is today, and who are primarily interested in its progress." This he attributed, with due gratitude, in part to the action of the Trustees, who had, he said, "established a most important precedent by recent promotions of undergraduate teachers which had been based frankly on qualities not ordinarily supposed to be particularly appreciated in a university, skilled teaching and a human interest in students."³⁹ One can understand Keppel's pleasure in this event, and it is justifiable both as regards the history of the College and more general considerations. There is indeed likely to be a difference between the kind of intellectual personality that can succeed with undergraduates and the kind of intellectual personality that concerns itself primarily with research and the direction of research. Yet the difference can be exaggerated, and the exaggeration can be dangerous, resulting in the establishment of the "inspirational" or facile teacher as the ideal for undergraduate instruction. But happily this has seldom been the case in Columbia College; the recognition of "qualities not ordinarily supposed to be particularly appreciated in a university" has resulted in a variety of kinds of intellectual excellence, and this has had its effect on the revision of the notions of what qualities should be appreciated in a university, a revision which is, it may be said, becoming general throughout the universities of the nation. Although the difference between them may still survive, the graduate and the undergraduate teacher are not two separate races of men. The revision may be in large

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1914, pp. 58, 57. An important step in this direction had been taken by the appointment of Professor Henry R. Mussey to the Faculty of Barnard College in 1909.

part attributed to the increase of seriousness and capability of undergraduate students generally.

The movement toward a Faculty which should be the College's own and should have the particular interests of the College at heart had been given a considerable impetus by the creation, in 1908, of the Committee on Instruction, which succeeded the Committee on the Program of Studies. Van Amringe characteristically understood it to be the chief function of the new Committee "to see that the years set apart for the College, whether they be two or more, shall be really used by the College for its own distinctive work."⁴⁰ The function of the Committee has of course become far larger than this. The Committee is in effect the Dean's Cabinet, and the Faculty has come to think of it as the steering committee of the College; its suggestions and recommendations are seldom refused by the Faculty in its formal meetings. The three-year period of service on the Committee to which a member of the Faculty is elected is a fairly arduous one; partly for this reason and partly because of the desirability of involving as many members of the Faculty as possible in the administration of the College, the members serve for but a single term.

The sense of the College as a living entity with its own distinctive work to do was at once expressed and strengthened by the effort to discover methods and subjects of study which should elevate the College work above the conventional classroom routine. One such effort was the institution, in 1909, of a system of honors. The award of the degree with honors was to depend upon a student's completion with high standing of three three-year sequences of three-hour courses together with supplementary reading as assigned by the department in which the student elected to concentrate for his honors program. The yearly final examinations were to cover both the course work and the supplementary reading, and the climax of the program was to be an oral examination. Degrees were to be awarded with "honors," "high honors," and "highest honors," and the undergraduates were to be divided into two groups, those who were candidates for a degree and those who were candidates for honors. In 1911 Keppel reports the first award of a degree with high honors, speaks with pleasure of the oral examination which the candidate passed, and expresses hope for "a more general return of this old fashioned test of proficiency." But in 1912 he comments with some wryness that "the amount of coöperation received from the different departments in putting this system on its feet is very irregular," and apparently there is little expectation that the honors plan will take root, for already Woodbridge,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 53.

Erskine, and Cassius Keyser have put forward their so-called Conference Program.⁴¹

Keppel's account of the new plan as he sets it forth in his report of 1912 is worth reading in its entirety:

Students who are ready to enter the Junior class of Columbia College may elect what has been tentatively christened the "Conference Program." Two years residence will be necessary for a degree, there being no provision for advanced standing. The course of study is to be arranged not on departmental lines, but the aim will be to present among the teachers the principal divisions of knowledge. A certain number of professors have already offered to conduct, in addition to their present programs, one three-hour course continued through two years. None of these courses are to be elementary, the students being expected to familiarize themselves, by private study, with the elementary parts of the subject not already covered by their previous collegiate work. . . .

Each student is to appear at least twice a year before a conference of all the instructors and students of the group and to present by means of an essay or otherwise, evidence of the progress of his studies. This conference which, in plan, is not unlike the Disputations of the Medieval Universities, is to be held weekly. It is designed to be the educational center of the program. The total hours of attendance on lectures prescribed for the degree are to be considerably less than under the present program, it being the expectation that participation in and preparation for the conferences will take up a considerable part of the students' time and energies.

Each student is to present to the Faculty, not later than April 15 of the year of his graduation, an essay on a topic proposed by himself and approved by the Committee in Charge at least one year before graduation. The essay must show mastery of the topic with which it deals.⁴²

The experiment was intended to prove, as Keppel said, "that the cause of liberal study may be advanced more effectively in a metropolitan university than in a small separate college, because of the wider range from which the teachers may be chosen." Whether it could compete with the honors program or whether it would be combined with that other effort to establish a college program at a higher level of intellectual maturity was uncertain. In point of fact neither program flourished, but elements of both plans appeared subsequently in the course called General Honors which arose out of Erskine's Great Books plan.

⁴¹ In 1914, in his *Columbia* volume in the "American College and University Series," Keppel wrote: "The [honors] system is not yet in permanent form, but so far the results have been most promising" (pp. 110-11).

⁴² *Annual Report*, 1912, pp. 63-64.

In 1917, just before the United States entered the war, Erskine proposed to the Columbia College Faculty a new kind of course, extending over two years, preferably the junior and senior years, in which the students would read and discuss one great classic a week. The proposal, as Erskine says, was in part a response to the opinion, often expressed by members of the Faculty, that students no longer had an adequate acquaintance with great literature. It was, of course, a good deal more than that. The spread of Erskine's idea throughout the colleges and universities of the country, the development of its implications, as well as the resistance it has met with in some quarters, indicate that it constituted a fundamental criticism of American democratic education. The opposition which was offered to the plan when Erskine first proposed it to the Faculty came chiefly from men who were concerned to protect what they conceived to be the scholarly integrity of their subject. To some scholars who had spent a lifetime in the study of certain authors or certain books it seemed sacrilegious that undergraduates should be presumed able to read them with understanding in a single week. Erskine replied that every book had to be read at some time for the first time, that there was a difference between a reading acquaintance with great authors and a scholarly investigation of them. In answer to the assertion that to read a great work in translation was not to read it at all, he remarked that if this were so, very few of his colleagues had read the Bible.

The war interrupted Erskine's campaign for the new course, but in 1919 he was given permission to try out his plan in the following year. Erskine had wanted to make the course available to all, but the Faculty limited admission to specially qualified students in their junior and senior years and designated it an "honors" course. Erskine regretted this restriction but it had its advantages. The students met in small groups every Wednesday evening for two hours and, under the leadership of two instructors, discussed the book assigned for the week. Although Erskine does not refer to it by name in his memoirs, the course was called General Honors. Students who took General Honors were required to take Special Honors as well; that is, under the direction of an instructor, they investigated some particular subject of their own choice and wrote an extensive essay on it. The course was abolished in 1929, in part because its honorific title was felt to be invidious to the students who did not take the course, but it was restored in the curriculum in 1934, and, under the unexceptionable name of Colloquium on Important Books, it continues to hold a pre-eminent place in the intellectual life of the College.

The effect of the war upon the College is not to be understood through

any public event or aggregate of events. The change in the deanship was of course important; Keppel was granted leave of absence in 1917 to accept his appointment as Third Assistant Secretary of War under Newton D. Baker, and shortly afterwards he resigned his Columbia post; Herbert E. Hawkes, after a year as Acting Dean, was appointed to the office in 1918. But although Keppel and Hawkes were of different temperaments, their conception of the College was essentially the same, and it is reasonable to say that the succession made no change in the direction of the College's development. The establishment of the Students' Army Training Corps brought a considerable disruption of the normal work of the College, but this was of but short duration, and by February of 1919 the regular schedule was once more in force. The unhappy relations which developed between the University and certain of the most distinguished members of the Faculty were the cause of student agitation, but the incidents, as was inevitable, soon fell into the background of undergraduate consciousness. Yet the war was of decisive importance for the College. It brought to an end the twenty-year period in which, as President Butler put it, "Columbia College has been . . . more or less the creature of circumstances." For the College, the President said, while endeavoring to pursue its own policy, "has been compelled at the same time to endeavor to serve the needs of a large and many-sided university." When the war was over, the College's own work and destiny seemed far more important than they had been for the last two decades.

The President's description of the essentially subordinate role of the College appeared in his report of 1917, in which, as we have seen, he proposed the establishment of a junior college which should do the work that had kept Columbia College from following "the natural lines of its own collegiate development."⁴³ But the end of the war seemed to show that the circumstances of which the College had been the creature had lost something of their old force. Thus, although the practical advantages of the professional option plan were still much appreciated by many students, there was a tendency being shown by the professional schools to require a greater amount of preprofessional work or to give preference in their selection of candidates to those who had completed a full collegiate course. At the same time there was a change in the popular attitude toward education, and in particular toward college education. Perhaps because the war had made the world seem more difficult and dangerous, there was a considerable diminution of the skepticism directed toward the intellectual disciplines. No doubt most people could not have said

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1917, pp. 17, 18.

just what advantages were given by education, but it began to seem clear that some advantages were given, enough to make the large business firms look more and more to the colleges for their personnel, enough to make the American college seem the natural means of passing from a lower social class to a higher. This new estimate of the college was supported by a considerable national prosperity. More and more young people, and their parents, came to think of college as an essential part of their experience. Collegiate education became increasingly an accepted thing in American life, and it seemed but natural after World War II to suppose that the best form of bonus for the young veteran was a period of education commensurate with the duration of his military service.

The new feeling about education made it possible for Columbia College to pursue its own policy. It was not, to be sure, liberated from all the circumstances that had hitherto hampered it, but there was far less necessity for it to think of serving "the needs of a large and many-sided university"; it was free to suppose that it was no longer ancillary, that it was not a "service" institution, nor a "door," nor a "vestibule," that its first duty was to the intelligence of its students.

The first manifestation of the College's new sense of itself was decisive and characteristic: the establishment in 1919 of the course known as Contemporary Civilization, which was referred to in the Prologue and which is more fully dealt with in Chapter II.

The great success of C.C.—as the course was at once known—made it only a question of time before a similarly comprehensive course in the Humanities should be thought of. The arguments which Erskine had advanced for his Great Books course had established themselves and seemed with the years to be more and more cogent, and not only as applied to juniors and seniors but to freshmen and sophomores. The plan was debated for a good many years, but its eventual acceptance could not be in doubt, and in 1937 the departments of Philosophy, Latin and Greek, English, French, German, and Italian collaborated in instituting Humanities A, a required course for freshmen, dealing with the masterpieces of literature and philosophy from Homer to the nineteenth century. In 1947 the departments of Music and Fine Arts established Humanities B, a required course for sophomores in the masterpieces of music and the plastic arts. The logical development of the Lower College Plan calls, it is obvious, for a course in the natural sciences of a comprehensiveness similar to that of C.C. and the Humanities. Practical difficulties have prevented its establishment up to now, but it is impossible not to suppose that these will be overcome.

The effect of the Columbia College program upon the theory of collegiate education throughout the nation is so well known that it needs no more than mention here. Other institutions, by being more doctrinaire about its advantages and necessities than were its originators, have seemed to take credit for the first conception of the program. It can scarcely be becoming to contest the priority of conceiving and putting into practice an idea which, if Columbia College had not hit upon it when it did, would nevertheless have had to establish itself through other agencies, for it is a very simple idea, saying no more than that there is a certain minimum of our intellectual and spiritual tradition which a man must experience and understand if he is to be called educated. Nevertheless, it is an undoubted satisfaction to know that Columbia College pioneered the plan that has so generally recommended itself.⁴⁴

The effect of the first steps toward the new curriculum had the greatest effect upon the morale of the College. The faculty, as it faced the intellectual and educational problems of the developing curriculum, became cohesive in a degree not before known, and Dean Hawkes, whose sense of the College as a living autonomous entity was very strong, supported the collegiate self-consciousness with every means in his power. And the conception of the College as being committed to a specifically intellectual function, and of the highest kind, has had a similarly cohesive effect upon the student body. The problems of the College's corporate life were not done away with after 1919, but from that time on there has been no doubt that Columbia College was a college, that it defined its own existence, so far as any institution can, and followed the law of its own being.

⁴⁴ The Dean of Yale College has recently given the following summary account of the program and its history which touches upon the question of priority: "The first genuinely promising attempt to put the old and the new learning comprehensively and yet compactly into a curriculum was begun at Columbia College soon after 1920. [As we have seen, the actual year of the beginning was 1919.] There, Dean Herbert Hawkes, a graduate of Yale who had spent his early years in New Haven grappling with the problem, developed a program for the first two years of college that consisted of two-year sequences in the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences. In each course the departments collaborated. . . . The program was an early form of what it has become the fashion to call General Education. From many points of view the program was highly successful, and before many years the University of Chicago adopted and adapted the plan and, like the Russians of our own day, announced themselves as the discoverers of the new light. It was not until the decade of the Forties that the dawn broke in New Haven and Cambridge." William C. DeVane, "The College in a National University," in *Seventy-Five* (New Haven, 1953), p. 6.

II

RECONSTRUCTION IN THE LIBERAL ARTS¹

by Justus Buchler

THE BIRTH OF A TRADITION

OUT OF the madness and sorrow that sprang from World War I there shone at least one conspicuous ray of light. This was the presence of a new self-consciousness in the American college. Not that every academic institution in the land suddenly sensed clarity and responsibility. The process was and continues to be much more painful, much more difficult. Few colleges any longer consider their primary duty to be the production of professional men and members of the clergy, but a good many function as though no other objectives existed. The controversies that became intense in the nineteenth century flourish as vigorously as ever. What the obligations of the college are, and what the relations of the college to the university, what a liberal education is, how much of it should be elective and how much prescribed, who and how many should be taught, whether a college should produce "minds or men"—none of these questions, and indeed none of these formulations, is settled to every-

¹ The author wishes to acknowledge the kindness of Dean Nicholas McD. McKnight, Assistant Dean Charles C. Cole, Jr., Professor Ben D. Wood, and Professor Dwight C. Miner in making available various necessary materials. Professors Miner, Jacques Barzun, and Lionel Trilling, with characteristic generosity, have made useful comments on the manuscript of this chapter.

one's satisfaction. Nor can any of them ever be, in the nature of the case. In the United States, regional, cultural, and economic facts are too multifarious to permit a single trend. The mere fact that colleges can be under private, state, or municipal auspices; that they can be large or small, old or new, male or female or coeducational, secular or denominational, liberal or exclusively professional, makes for great variety of method and program. Like individuals, colleges are each uniquely compounded of a native constitution, contingent circumstances, and the sheer passage of time. Colleges also, like individuals, inevitably influence one another despite their uniqueness.

It was in the period beginning with the end of the war that Columbia College achieved its peculiar impetus and power, one of the most persistent influences in the recent history of higher education in the United States. What explains this, largely, is the degree of the College's responsiveness to the war and its consequences. But this capacity to respond is itself explainable only by the fact that, in the years just before the war, the University was entering an important stage in its development. Earlier, as we have seen, the force of the German academic tradition had nearly resulted in Columbia's graduate and professional schools devouring the College that had mothered them. That crisis had come at the turn of the century. Once the threat had passed, there rapidly developed a cosmopolitan union: the College and the University schools acquired new meaning while keeping their integrity within the orbit of a larger academic community. In such a community, the academic imagination could breed and nurture a distinctive conception of the liberal college.

The year 1919 can be justly regarded as marking the actual birth of the new Columbia College. This was the year in which Herbert E. Hawkes became Dean and in which Contemporary Civilization, the ancestral course of the General Education tradition, was first offered. But the "beginning," in this process dedicated to self-criticism, could equally well be set in 1917. In that year Hawkes became Acting Dean, the College (by government request) organized a course in War Issues, and Professor John Erskine was "working out," he tells us, "a number of ideas about the presentation of great authors and their works to young people, normally and properly occupied with contemporary life."² The administration of Hawkes was to last for more than a quarter of a century; the course in War Issues was to turn directly into the Contemporary

² John Erskine, *My Life as a Teacher* (Philadelphia, 1948), p. 165. Reproduced by permission of J. B. Lippincott Company.

Civilization course; and the plans of Erskine were to become the basis of the College tradition in the humanities.

The latter-day framework of the College was already being molded during the administration of Dean Frederick P. Keppel, Hawkes's predecessor. According to Dean Harry J. Carman, who followed Hawkes, Keppel sensed the ultimate collegiate effects of the war and came to conceive of the college as an institution with broad functions. The idea of a "student-centered" college, which Hawkes and Carman were later to emphasize, was in a sense fathered by Keppel. To the problem of good teaching he gave primary attention, and he contrasted the technique of mass lecturing unfavorably to instruction of small undergraduate groups. The life and welfare of the student outside the classroom he also considered a concern of the college. Student guidance became necessary; and Keppel "in no small way," says Dean Carman, should be credited with "laying the foundations for the present advisory system in Columbia College."³ Among Keppel's ideals was the lessening of emphasis on pre-professionalism and the conception of the four-year college as desirable for every student.

Just as Keppel's administration suggested the later direction of College procedure, so the ideas of University scholars before 1917 foreshadowed the College theory and tone. The educational thought of Professor John Dewey was not only "in the air" but was being translated into enormously influential form on the primary educational level. That it should have influenced the practice of Columbia College is much less clearly recognized but hardly less understandable. Much of the confusion about Dewey and about Columbia, educationally speaking, rests on the identification of his work with one division of the University, Teachers College. Further, Dewey, unlike certain other widely known figures in the University, did not directly participate in the planning of the College's foundational curriculum. But his fellow-philosopher, Dean of the Graduate Faculties Frederick J. E. Woodbridge, did; and it is clear that Woodbridge, in contributing his own ideas, helped to transmit those of Dewey as well. Back in 1907 Woodbridge's article on "Pragmatism and Education" had given particular attention to Dewey's outlook. Apparently taking his cue from Charles Sanders Peirce, the founder of pragmatism and an intellectual ancestor of Dewey, Woodbridge construes the essence of pragmatism as the struggle to formulate a technique of clarification. "How To Make Our Ideas Clear" (1878) had been Peirce's title

³ Harry J. Carman, "Dean of Columbia College," in *Appreciations of Frederick Paul Keppel* (New York, 1951), p. 7.

for his pioneer essay. What, after all, asks Woodbridge with characteristic simplicity, is "the great business of learning and teaching" but "the acquiring and imparting of clear ideas about the world."⁴ Commenting on Dewey's view that there ought to be a continuity between the student's total experience and the segment of it which we call his education, he emphasizes one important mode of experience—reading—which was to become fundamental in the postwar College curriculum. "The educational value of reading is itself too much neglected."⁵

A sentiment very similar to this was independently voiced by another precursor of Columbia College's new direction, Professor George Edward Woodberry. Credit for the "Great Books" influence usually goes to Erskine; but this credit is in no way lessened by the fact that much of Erskine's inspiration for the plan came from Woodberry, the teacher by whom, perhaps, he was most impressed in his Columbia student days. Erskine reports that in one of their last talks Woodberry, the apostle of comparative literature and the enemy of divided academic disciplines, asked him about his students in English: "Do they know other [than English] writers?" Assured that they did, he went on: "Then there's nothing to worry about. One culture takes the place of another. It has always been so. It will always be so. Don't worry so long as they do read and do create."⁶ "To many scholars," Erskine later wrote, "imaginative literature is merely one of the graces of life, and the study of books merely a professional occupation, to be pursued during working hours and at other times laid aside. For Woodberry literature was life itself."⁷ Woodberry, whether in his written work or in his conversations with students,

reminded us that men cannot be, as we have learned to say, isolated; he showed us that poetry, religion, and politics in any noble sense are all rooted—not in the genius of any one race or country—but in the general heart of man. . . . Our best future would be to share the common lot. And by common lot he made us understand not the constrained inheritance of mediocrity, nor the limited vision of local issues, but the whole drama of human experience.⁸

The character of Columbia College is thus not the product of any individual, nor would any member of the College community, past or present,

⁴ "Pragmatism and Education," *Educational Review* (1907), p. 237.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁶ Erskine, *My Life as a Teacher*, p. 197.

⁷ John Erskine, *The Memory of Certain Persons* (Philadelphia, 1947), p. 91. Reproduced by permission of J. B. Lippincott Company.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

have desired it to be so. Yet the rationale of the new tradition is unquestionably adumbrated in the conceptions of Dewey and Woodberry, the sagacity of Woodbridge and Erskine, and the administrative instinct of Keppel. The essential idea, the continuity of education and experience, of learning and life, of one discipline with other disciplines, is a fertile one. It is central to the Columbia process of liberal education and to the conviction, long held on Morningside, that the principal obligation of the College is to help develop the student into a more complete human being.

Columbia's innovations after 1919 were made possible by a favorable conjunction of circumstances. Some of these, as we have just seen, were indigenous. But others were characteristic of the time and were available to American higher education in general. After the war, college attendance in the United States rose rapidly. In 1910 the number of students enrolled in colleges was 355,000, or 4.8 percent of college-age youth in the country. In 1920 the number was 597,000, or 8.1 percent; in 1930 it was 1,100,000, or 12.2 percent. Admission to college was increasingly sought as a preparation for professional training. Increased pressure, both on liberal arts colleges and on professional schools, permitted these institutions to become more selective. Medical and law schools, particularly, began to give preference in many cases to students who had completed a four-year liberal arts course. The colleges, thus gradually put in an advantageous position, gained greater freedom of action. A slowly rising protest against excessive specialization helped to open up the opportunity for curricular experiment. Not all colleges could attain this favorable position at the same rate of speed, and many among those which had the opportunity simply persisted in their prewar inertia. Columbia possessed resources which enabled it to profit from the cultural trends and to translate them into a new curriculum. It had not only an atmosphere favorable to inventiveness; it had professional schools of high reputation, and it had teachers and administrators whose independent ideas awaited only the proper moment.

It is perhaps accurate, if not adequate, to say that the procedural principle of Columbia College since 1919 has been one of reasoned flexibility. Flexibility necessarily implies conservatism and order, but it suggests also cumulative experience unafraid of innovation. The life of an academic community cannot help being experimental and manipulative. It is most likely to be rewarded in its efforts if its experimentation is purposive rather than random, and dictated by the inherited past rather than by mere ingenuity, administrative fiat, or political pressure. The temper of

flexibility distinguishes sharply between collegiate standards on the one hand and dogmatic imperatives on the other. The student is required to take certain courses—but there are exceptions. The technique of discussion is deemed the superior technique—but there are exceptions. An instructor ordinarily teaches three courses—but these may add up to more or fewer hours than usual by equitable agreement. There are common rules of admission, of attendance, of examination, of credit—but reasonable exceptions and modifications are always possible.

The best symbol of rational flexibility, and the earliest in the postwar College, is Contemporary Civilization, the first step in the new curriculum. The theory and details of the course we shall consider later. Here it is pertinent to observe that C.C., like every process of liberal inquiry, arose from the urge to understand; in particular, to understand the background and meaning of the war. Though it sprang from the prosaic circumstance of a military mandate, this urge presupposed a will to collaborate: for no historian, philosopher, economist, or political scientist who really wanted to understand could consider his discipline the sole key to the teaching of so complex a subject.

The men in Washington whose responsibility it was to conduct American policy in World War I could hardly have contemplated a new departure in higher education. Yet they had a direct connection with it. In behalf of the Students' Army Training Corps, which they had established in colleges throughout the nation, they asked Columbia to prepare a course in "War Issues." Dean Woodbridge was made chairman of a committee named to draw up the plans. After intensive labor the committee submitted a syllabus to Washington, and a few weeks afterward the course was given, by Army prescription, at Columbia and at all other Student Corps centers.

Before the war ended, and while the War Issues course was in progress, it seemed reasonable to certain members of the staff—Deans Woodbridge and Hawkes, Adam Leroy Jones and John J. Coss (both of the Department of Philosophy), Harry J. Carman and Benjamin B. Kendrick (both of the Department of History)—that there should be a course devoted to "Peace Issues." The result of the transition was Contemporary Civilization, given for the first time in the fall of 1919, "required of freshmen," and scheduled five days a week at nine, ten, or eleven o'clock in the morning, all sections meeting in classrooms on the fifth floor of Hamilton Hall.

Collaboration and faith in its virtues did not arise miraculously at Columbia. There was a perfectly normal human residue of opposition and

distrust. Dean Carman has recounted the anxiety of the innovators in the face of outcries.⁹ The proposed peacetime course, some feared, would be "superficial," "impossible to administer," "a threat to scholarship." But so strong was the initial faith and so skillful the technique by which it was propagated that unimaginative resistance was short-lived. This was not owing simply to a preponderance of toleration and advanced thinking. Eighteen years later, the parallel freshman Humanities course saw the light of day only after a much more protracted struggle. The birth of C.C. was facilitated by wartime conditions. But though it had been preceded by some experimentation, and though the academic reception of it might have been more hostile, the small group of founders deserves credit for true educational vision.

When the study of War Issues gave way to C.C. the process of interdepartmental cooperation became far more systematic. The flexibility of attitude and of collegiate structure which made collaboration in C.C. possible was thus no mere "live and let live" policy among certain academic men. It did indeed mean that men of different disciplines had an unusually high regard for one another's endeavors and that their imaginative scope was well above the ordinary. But first and last it meant a decisive renunciation of departmental parochialism and an abandonment once for all of the provincial interests that divided and can still divide the academic community. It meant that labor in behalf of the student, like the labor of inquiry as such, was the aim to which departmental and ego-centric specialties must be subordinated.

The significance and promise of the new venture were immediately apparent, and in 1922 Dean Hawkes felt it possible to generalize about an incipient direction: "It is gradually becoming clear that certain fundamental principles of collegiate education are particularly adapted to the genius of Columbia College. One of these principles is the proposition that the student is the focus of the undergraduate college."¹⁰ This is hardly a commonplace now, and it was no commonplace then. Hawkes went on to say that in the graduate school it is the subject that is paramount; in the college, it is the student. This meant, first, that scholarly activity, though essential in the college, was nevertheless instrumental to teaching; and secondly, that since the student was more than a purely intellectual entity, the college must be aware of the nature of the animal whose capacities it was trying to develop.

It was amid considerations like these that, in his annual reports,

⁹ "Reminiscences of Thirty Years," *Journal of Higher Education*, XXII (1951), 116-18.

¹⁰ Annual Report of the Dean of Columbia College, 1922, p. 3.

Hawkes would discuss such matters as Columbia's acquisition of Baker Field and the reorganization of religious activities in Earl Hall. He looked upon athletics as a mode of expression for the student—the same student who found in college the opportunity to widen his imagination—and not as one activity parallel to others within college life. In the same way, he saw Earl Hall not as a fortress of religious orthodoxy, or as a counterweight to the dangers of free inquiry in the classroom, but as a place for discussion available to the student. Hawkes, of course, reflected the pluralistic temper that was and has continued to be characteristic of the University. But neither he nor any other responsible spokesman of the College ever regarded all activities as equal in importance. However difficult it may be to define them precisely, some things are primary and others secondary in the scale of collegiate values. "Study," Hawkes once slyly remarked, "never seems to be included in the category of 'student activities.' " ¹¹

The maintenance of a proper perspective on the part of the student was a problem that Hawkes constantly bore in mind. In 1936 he reviewed the pitfalls that threatened emphasis on educating the "whole man." He had been saying that such an emphasis starts with the very entrance of a boy into the College. Thus character and health, besides scholastic standing, are factors in the admissions policy. But Hawkes realized that "the admission of the whole man is likely to cause confusion, particularly in the mind of the student. He runs the risk of losing contact with what constitutes the center of gravity of the work of the college. He subconsciously reasons that if the whole man is admitted to college, then any expression of one's individual interests is appropriate, and to any extent." ¹² Thence the athlete rationalizes a dominant interest in sport; the politically minded student, the legitimacy of propaganda. Again Hawkes felt it necessary to affirm the priority of those functions in the College that make for "the imparting of knowledge and the encouragement of an attitude which will convert that knowledge into wisdom." The College is not "a hospital, a home for convalescents, an athletic club, a conservatory of music, or a soap box." ¹³ It exists neither to indulge nor to coerce the student, but to actualize the best of his possibilities.

THE INSTRUMENTS OF THE LIBERAL COLLEGE

Whoever looks into the period from 1919 to the present cannot help noting a remarkable degree of purposiveness in College practice and in the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹² Annual Report of the Dean, 1936, p. 5.

direction of its internal changes. Columbia has had its "stages," its fresh starts, and its periodic revaluations. But for the most part these have been modifications within a basic plan rather than wholesale reversals in educational policy.

Postwar Columbia planning after 1918 discerned that true reconstruction of a liberal arts tradition depended on the fusion of several techniques. The core of the new approach was commitment to interdepartmental collaboration. This took the form of teaching Contemporary Civilization to all freshmen and of offering General Honors reading to advanced students. The General Honors program was begun in 1920 under the direction of its proposer, John Erskine. It provided for the systematic reading of masterpieces in "poetry, history, philosophy and science" and for "individual work in some chosen field of scholarship under the direction of a designated Honors Director." It was, in other words, a program which aimed to combine common reading and discussion with individual undergraduate research.

The great question that challenged the Contemporary Civilization course in the early years was whether it would quicken and deepen interest in elective scholarly studies or provide a mere alternative to such studies. The question was soon answered. Statistical investigations between 1919 and 1925 showed considerable increase in registration for advanced courses in economics, government, philosophy, and history—the departments collaborating in Contemporary Civilization. Although there was no way of demonstrating that C.C. alone explained the increase, it was at least clear that C.C. had not diminished the interest in scholarship. Instructors in the College did not have to wait for statistical confirmation. They soon observed not only that scholarly appetites could be whetted but that advanced departmental courses could rely on better conceptual equipment and better methodological insight in their prospective students. Under the skilful yet unobtrusive guidance of Hawkes, departments in turn accommodated their offerings to the foundational program. In 1922 Hawkes was able to report that the Department of History had reorganized its courses to conform to the work in C.C. He was also able, significantly, to report that by Faculty action the second of the two prescribed years in English had been abolished as a requirement for the degree. C.C. was developing in the student greater articulateness as well as greater intellectual awareness.

By the early twenties the central role of liberal freshman study had been established, and the techniques of teaching that were later to be deemed indispensable had become stabilized. C.C. sections met in groups

of about twenty-five students, each group taught by a single instructor who remained with it throughout the academic year. Discussion, from the beginning, was the rule within the classroom: the twenty-five persons were to be students, not listeners. The instructor, though necessarily a chairman and guide, was to be an inquirer, not a preacher. He was there not to deliver a message for the day but to preserve the sense of order, balance, and continuity and to exhibit the critical attitude.

Likewise, though in a manner suited to inquiry of a more advanced character, the Honors sections were dedicated to the study of great works of literature through an exchange of opinion. A section usually was presided over by two teachers, preferably men with different scholarly interests, and the number of students was limited to about fifteen. Occasionally, a University scholar outside the Honors staff would be asked to address the combined sections, in order to contribute matter that the discussions were not likely to yield. Honors meetings were held one night a week, with no time limit. Advanced students, like advanced thinkers, should be able to sustain and build upon ideas without such mundane pauses as are accorded by college gongs.

Determinateness in the new liberal arts direction did not mean complacency. On the contrary, C.C. was literally born revising itself. There has always been and there will always be a C.C. Revision Committee. For the purpose of revision is to keep pace with scholarly development and the alteration of historical perspective, as well as to perfect teaching techniques. In the Honors work a careful reappraisal of methods was undertaken only a year or two after the inception of the program. The staff feared the onset of standardization, and debated means of preserving the informal atmosphere necessary for effective discussion. To this day the staffs of C.C. and of the subsequently established Humanities course hold their respective weekly luncheon meetings to keep watch over pace and procedure.

If by C.C. and Honors the College early laid the cornerstones of its program in the realms of the social sciences and the humanities, in the realm of the natural sciences its action was not so decisive. And as in the two former branches it continued with conviction in the fulfilment of an early pattern, so in the latter the fifties found it persisting in its original uncertainty. But it is important to realize that the absence of a general course in natural science was not due to dereliction on the part of the College administration or of the science departments. As early as 1923, following the collaborative preparation of a syllabus, a course in the history of science was offered to sophomores with diverse amounts of

scientific training. The course continued to be given among the offering of the Department of History until the death of its original teacher, Professor Frederick Barry, in 1943. But this type of course was in no way analogous to C.C. Contemporary Civilization had a twofold purpose: first, it sought to meet the need of all students for a fund of knowledge and a set of intellectual tools that would be applicable in all of their thinking and that would better them as persons; and second, it sought, by means of this foundation, to equip prospective scholars with an intellectual context within which specialized study would be more profitable and more meaningful.

The achievement of such a twofold objective in the domain of natural science, difficult at any time, was insuperable in the thirties. Discussion by members of the science departments assumed that a satisfactorily devised general course must necessarily be addressed to the nonspecializing student. To be able to parallel C.C. in even one of its functions would be a victory. In 1933 a Faculty committee was appointed by Hawkes to study the possibility of a foundational offering. It was under the chairmanship of Herbert W. Schneider of the Department of Philosophy, and it included Clifford D. Carpenter (Chemistry), Hermon W. Farwell (Physics), Armin K. Lobeck (Geology), and James H. McGregor (Zoology). The committee indicated unequivocally how it looked at the problem.

Such a course should afford a wider view of scientific subject-matter than is possible by a study of only one or two sciences, and should produce a broader outlook in the student not only upon the several sciences but upon those problems and ideas which the sciences share with each other and with the other domains of contemporary thought. The students for whom the course should be designed primarily are those whose chief interest lies outside the field of these sciences and who presumably take no further courses in them. Hence the course must be primarily not a prerequisite for advanced work in science, but an adequate presentation of a subject-matter that has intrinsic significance and general education value for the layman.¹⁴

The two-year course prepared by the committee, Science A and B, was offered in 1934 as an optional requirement for students not aiming at professional scientific study. It continued to be offered until 1941, when World War II diverted the scientific facilities of the University. The study of a general science course was renewed in 1945 by a subcommittee of the Committee on College Plans. This was headed by Charles O. Beckmann of the Department of Chemistry. It included Professor Lobeck of

¹⁴ Annual Report of the Dean, 1933, pp. 11-12.

the earlier committee, John R. Dunning (Physics), Bernard O. Koopman (Mathematics), Edwin B. Matzke (Botany), Ernest Nagel (Philosophy), Arthur W. Pollister (Zoology), and Jan Schilt (Astronomy).

The conclusions of the new committee differed significantly from those of its 1933 predecessor and from the assumptions underlying the practice of Science A and B. Outstanding, perhaps, were the recommendations, first, "that a specially constructed and well-integrated two-year course in the natural sciences be a required course for all students who are candidates for a degree from Columbia College, quite irrespective of whether such students plan to enter one of the scientific professions or not"; and, second, "that such a course be staffed by men who are prepared to give competent instruction in *all* of it, and not simply in some fragmentary portion of it." Through the first of these recommendations the committee was affirming as valid for the teaching of natural science the objectives of C.C. and (since 1937) of Humanities, namely, to meet the needs of both the general student and the potential specialist. And through the second of these recommendations it was trying to avoid a course that consisted of compartmentalized and loosely related parts. The committee argued that to restrict a science course to "non-science" students would amount to lowering the general standard of interest, enthusiasm, and inquisitiveness, and hence to excluding those who would supply the chief stimulus to both teachers and students. It urged also that the historical development of the sciences be not overlooked in the eventual syllabus. A student leaving college "should possess a keen sense for the fact that the sciences have not come into being ready-made, and for the fact that the latest theory in a subject . . . is not likely to be the last one in it."¹⁵

But the 1945 committee was under no illusions about the difficulty of realizing its principles. It saw that something would have to be done, for one thing, about the doubts which professional schools might cast over the general course as an equivalent of some of their requirements. And it saw, also, that the problem of staffing the proposed course was a grave one. Accordingly, it suggested that its general recommendations be submitted for Faculty approval and that the problems of syllabus-making and implementation be delegated to a new committee. After two staff smokers the projected course was approved by a majority. Dean Carman, however, noting that the minority was made up largely of scientists, not only appointed a new committee but suggested that it reconsider the

¹⁵ The report of the 1945 Science Committee is printed almost in its entirety in *A College Program in Action* (New York, 1946), pp. 118-38.

entire problem in the light of the discussions at the smokers. A committee headed by Professor Nagel, who had been a member of the preceding committee, included Professors Beckmann, Koopman, and Schilt, also of the preceding committee, and Jacques Barzun (History), Polykarp Kusch (Physics), and Francis Ryan (Zoology). The new committee reported in 1948.

At the outset it commended its predecessor's statement of objectives. An introductory course in the natural sciences "ought to stress inclusive organizing principles of the sciences, rather than special techniques for mastering specialized subject-matters or technological applications of scientific findings . . . [and it ought to provide the student] with sound conceptions concerning the nature and the broad significance of modern natural science."¹⁶ But so formidable did the committee find the difficulties that had been discerned by the previous committee, that it felt forced to reject the latter's two outstanding recommendations, one of which would have made the course mandatory for all lower classmen, and the other of which would have organized it to be taught in its entirety by each member of the designated staff. The reality of the preprofessional requirements, the present highly traditionalized structure of science departments, and the paucity of available personnel for so rigorous a job of teaching seemed to make the implementation of such recommendations remote, however desirable they might be under ideal conditions. The committee felt that a compartmentalized course taught by men of proved capacity was preferable to a highly unified course that threatened to be oversimple in the manner of the widespread "surveys" of science. It therefore recommended a course in which the first two semesters would draw their materials from physics and astronomy; the third semester, from chemistry; and the fourth, from biology. The selection of these sciences was based on the consideration that they are theoretically the most fundamental, both as bases of other natural sciences and as specimens of the logic of scientific method. It was suggested, further, that of all the sciences, those selected are least accessible without formal instruction. Finally, in awareness of the fact that general students are not primarily interested in acquiring experimental techniques, the committee recommended that in place of individual laboratory work, demonstration experiments be performed by instructors with the dominant aim of discussing the principles involved.

When the College Faculty voted in 1948 to accept the most recent

¹⁶ The unpublished report is in the form of a mimeographed letter to Dean Carman, dated May 25, 1948.

committee report and to establish its new version of Science A and B, economic inflation had begun to hit hard at the University. The course would be introduced, once again as an optional requirement, at the earliest opportunity. But everyone in the College knew that the problem of curricular experimentation with this third leg of the foundational "tripod" was far from over. Why has the development of the Columbia liberal arts curriculum been steady and determinate in the area of the humanities and social sciences and so halting in that of the natural sciences? The one trend has been linear and upward; the other, cyclical and irregular.

It must be remembered, first of all, that the tripod actually has always had its three legs. Natural science has never left the prescribed curriculum of Columbia College; it is older, in its function as an element of the liberal arts foundation, than its two companions. This seems, of course, to complicate the puzzle; for why, then, has it remained more sluggish in its educational techniques? And why should a body of disciplines which, of all disciplines, is the most revolutionary and independent in its creative method content itself with such conservative treatment? The answer, it is sometimes held, lies partly in the kind of commitment that comes with being a scientific man. The need to keep abreast of current scientific developments is more demanding, because their rate is more rapid than in other areas and they are more positive in character. In these days it is a triumph if the scientific man can devote new effort and thought to systematic exposition of scientific matter for nonscientists. Yet, since other colleges have incorporated the teaching of natural science into programs of general education, this answer cannot be the only one.

Principally the explanation lies in the dominance of the "department" within the University organization.¹⁷ General education in Columbia College has depended, not upon special divisional arrangements, but upon voluntary departmental collaboration. The simple historical fact of the matter is that such collaboration arose early among the social science departments, later among those relating to the humanities, and not at all in the natural science departments. In effect, if not in intent, the science departments address the student as specialist from the beginning of his college career. If a broadly framed science program were to parallel Contemporary Civilization and Humanities in addressing all students whatever, the tradition of the science departments would have to be modified. Two world wars and the fear of a third have, in their demands on the men of science, not helped to effect this modification, though, ironically

¹⁷ See pp. 88-93.

enough, they have made the need of a liberal context for scientific inquiry imperative.

The conception of Columbia College as pioneering in foundational education would be incomplete and even distorted without consideration of two systems that were established to help it function and that have become indispensable. One is the placement examination; the other, the advisory system. In these the College pioneered as unmistakably as it did in the founding of the basic courses. The essential fact about the placement examination is that it was given to the student *after* his admission to the College, in order to determine on what level he should pursue certain studies within the undergraduate program. The essential fact about the advisory system is that from the beginning it has been predominantly in the hands of the teaching staff rather than of a professional guidance staff; for the very meaning of an outlook that stressed attention to the individual student and the continuity of the educational process with the living process required the men who advised to be also the men who knew the students in the classroom and on the campus.

The need for placement examinations in certain subjects (English, mathematics, and foreign languages) arose from a number of simple but stubborn facts. Columbia's students came from widely diversified backgrounds, and the schools which prepared them for college differed greatly in their standards and resources. The black and white record of the student had to be accepted more or less at face value. It is easy to lament the absence of uniformity in precollegiate schooling, but one accepts the fact almost gladly when one realizes how important to the democratic process is the system of local jurisdiction in education. Regional pluralism is better than centralized standardization. Nevertheless the problem of unpredictable diversity remains for the college. A college defines its own standards, accepts those students whom it deems capable of profiting from its offerings. Columbia was willing to risk the fact that possession of "a good record" is an ambiguous student trait. But the purpose of a college, presumably, is to help develop the student, not to multiply the obstacles in his life. Hence it ought not to penalize students whose two years of French, let us say, turn out to be equivalent to a bare minimum—a boy cannot choose to be born in an area with high standards of schooling. The College accepts the student on the basis of his potentialities and his aims. It then examines him, in an attempt to "place" him realistically on the proper level of study. His performance in the placement tests may indicate to his adviser that he should start with the second term of a

foreign language sequence rather than with the second year indicated by his entrance record. Or his performance may suggest that he take a lighter program of studies because notwithstanding his record in English his reading powers have been insufficiently developed. Last but certainly not least, the placement examinations can safeguard a student against starting at too low a level and thereby fruitlessly duplicating elementary study.

The practices based on these early insights by the College have become all but universal in American higher education. In making the placement examination serve a larger educational end Dean Hawkes must be given the major credit. To most of the educational innovations of Columbia College the Dean stood in the relation of expeditor, deliverer, and administrative sponsor. He was not a creator of new or startling ideas. His forte was to make it possible for such ideas to come into practice by lending his person and his office to the augmentation of plans which he considered promising or which were considered promising by a consensus of the Faculty. And yet in the institution of the new examination technique and the promotion of the advisory system, Hawkes may truly be said to have seized the initiative. In 1922 he helped create a professorship of Collegiate Educational Research. The post went, on his suggestion, to Ben D. Wood, who has occupied it up to the present time and has become identified with leadership and fresh thinking in the problem of educational measurement. Professor Wood, appropriately and symbolically, taught C.C. and participated in the postwar advisory program virtually from the beginnings of both. He once pointed out that Hawkes's support of an educational testing program was remarkable evidence of the Dean's selflessness and sense of principle. Hawkes, he said,

did not "like" tests, or test jargon, or the charts and graphs that were spawned by tests. Graphic presentations particularly irritated him; so much so that when he adopted the cumulative student record form which one of his committees designed, and which he supported valiantly, he adapted it in such a way as to eliminate the graphic features which most other users found most helpful.¹⁸

Hawkes, in spite of the fact—or perhaps because of the fact—that he was a mathematician, was unimpressed by quantitative information. Wood went on to say that this situation was rendered unimportant by Hawkes's "devotion to the principle that taste or 'prejudice' should not be allowed to discourage the development of any devices or methods

¹⁸ From private correspondence with William E. Weld.

which other competent educators advocated as having *any* promise whatever in helping teachers better understand their pupils as individuals."

Before 1917 the advisory system of the College was on an extremely informal, not to say haphazard, basis. Members of the faculty who volunteered to assist at registration would ordinarily continue to approve programs of study for the same student over the years. The student, on his side, would continue to consult the teacher who had happened to help him amidst the confusion of his freshman registration routine. The adviser's functions were thus not only limited and clerical in character but his relation to the student was indeterminate. In 1917, however, just before Hawkes became Acting Dean, four Assistants to the Dean were designated to advise all students aiming at law, medicine, business, and engineering. In 1923 the group of Assistants to the Dean came to include a pre-journalism adviser; in 1926, a pre-architecture and a pre-optometry adviser; and in 1929, a pre-dentistry and a pre-theology adviser—the last the Dean himself. It was in 1929 that all students, preprofessional and otherwise, systematically came under the advisory system.

The function of the adviser, Hawkes said, "is neither to coerce nor to mollycoddle, but to enlighten the student."¹⁹ Hawkes himself had small patience with unreasonable conceptions of the advisory function, particularly with that which expected the adviser "to see into the inmost soul and mind of the youth by some kind of incantation, and tell him just what he ought to do for the rest of his life."²⁰ Hawkes had too much respect for students to underestimate them.

The adviser can prepare tests, and gather information significant for the making of decisions, but this material must be evaluated by each student for himself. No one can do more than make a guess at this evaluation for another. Consequently the function of the adviser of students is not at all that of settling their questions for them. Those who try to settle other people's personal problems for them are perhaps the greatest nuisances in modern society. The adviser's business is to find out in a more orderly manner than the immature young man is able to do, the facts and elements on which the solution of his question depends. He can relate to the student the experience of others. But the adviser has no business to tell a young man that he should be a lawyer, or an engineer, for the simple reason that very likely the young man does not want to be a lawyer or an engineer.²¹

The potentialities of the advisory system have excited the interest of every Dean of the College since Keppel. Keppel saw the need and inau-

¹⁹ Annual Report of the Dean, 1926, p. 3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

gured the mechanism; Hawkes devoted perhaps a major portion of his long service (1917-43) in the Dean's office to consultation with students as well as to the improvement of advisory techniques; Carman retained a large group of advisees; and Chamberlain, besides advisory work, made it a point to attend the advisers' monthly meetings. In 1944 Nicholas McD. McKnight, who had become Associate Dean in 1931, and who had served as Acting Dean on the death of Hawkes, became Chairman of the Assistants to the Dean. For a decade after 1933 McKnight had taught Contemporary Civilization. And in 1950, simultaneously with the appointment of Dean Lawrence H. Chamberlain, he became the first Dean of Students in the history of the College. His influence on the latest stage of growth in the advisory system was considerable. Between 1945 and 1950 the number of advisers in the College increased by 100 percent, from sixteen to thirty-two.

Distrustful as he was of formal devices, Hawkes was ever on the lookout for their possibilities. Not the least of the values of the placement tests, as he saw them, was their stimulus to curricular planning by the departments. The basic courses in English, foreign languages, and the sciences must use the examination trends as a barometer of students' needs. In the same way, any device that could make student guidance more significant was eagerly utilized by the Dean. In the middle thirties there came into being a procedure much prized by Hawkes and his successors. This was the annual "screening meeting." Late in the fall of each year, following the mid-term point, a gathering is held in the Men's Faculty Club to consider the cases of about fifteen freshmen who stand lowest in their class. Presided over originally by Dean Hawkes and subsequently by Dean McKnight, it is attended by the students' advisers and instructors and by anyone else on the campus who may be acquainted with them—athletic coaches, dormitory supervisors, and religious counsellors. A digest of each student's record and background is projected on a large screen, and the evening is given over to discussion of each case in turn. From the narrower point of view, the purpose of the gathering is to decide how the student's difficulties are to be handled: should he be put on probation, be given a stiff warning, or simply be given special attention by his adviser and the Dean's office? But from a broader point of view, there emerge from the meeting many insights of positive value for the staff. There develops a realization that each case is a unique constellation of problems and that the standards of the College have meaning only in application to students as individuals. The screening meeting is really an extension of the College's relation to the student: it is an investigation

of the person in behalf of the person's education. It may turn out that he is in need of medical or psychiatric attention; that his family situation makes study impossible; that his adjustment, academic or social, is retarded by one circumstance or another. An instructor is able to see his own relation to the student in the light of testimony by other instructors and in the light of the student's total situation. The screening meeting, then, as Hawkes and his successors saw it, is primarily an explanatory rather than a disciplinary device.

The better to accumulate material leading to an adequate picture of the student's college career, a questionnaire was devised, in 1938, that enabled each instructor in the freshman and sophomore year to comment on the student-as-person and the student-as-scholar. What traits in the student seem to deserve encouragement? Does his attitude square with his performance? All of the written comments come to rest in the files of the student's adviser. Once again, this report has served as an explanatory instrument. For its existence is based on the conviction that the mere record of grades is insufficient because inarticulate. The College needs data on how, and how well, its students prepare; how well or how poorly they write; how much coincidence or disparity there is between their oral and their written performance; whether or not they are under tension; and how cooperative or competitive they are. This is the knowledge on which curricula and student advice are based.

But the College needs also to hear and learn directly from the student himself. Accordingly in 1938 a letter was sent to each sophomore asking for a confidential report from *him*. What has he liked and disliked so far in his college career? What influences, intellectual, social, religious, personal, has he discerned at work within him? What are his plans for the next two years and after? What worries, dissatisfactions, or problems does he have that he has not yet communicated to anyone? The sophomore is encouraged to comment about anything at all that he considers of importance. What has come to be known as the annual, though voluntary, "sophomore report" elicited over the years a response from between 65 percent and 90 percent of the students. Read only by the Deans and the student's adviser, each report is of most immediate benefit to its writer. It is followed by a conference in which student and adviser plan the last two years, the years of elective study. Oral amplification of the report permits discussion of the student's needs and desires and of his possible vocational plans. To the College the entire procedure is of enormous value. It supplies evidence on the character of the teaching, the impact of the courses, and the patterns of student life.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CURRICULUM

In 1918 about one third of the College course was prescribed—the amount might be slightly more or considerably less, depending on what the student offered for admission, particularly in the fields of language and natural science. By 1938 the amount of prescribed work had become about one half, with fewer opportunities for exceptions. So far as the quantitative ratio of prescribed to elective work is concerned, there is nothing uncommon in this trend. The uniqueness of the Columbia approach lay in the nature of the change and the content of the result. In 1918 the average student was required to take two years (or from 10 to 12 points) of English composition and literature (predominantly the former); one year (or 6 points) of history, ordinarily modern European; one year (or 5 points) of mathematics; one year (or from 6 to 8 points) of laboratory science; one year (or 6 points) of philosophy (logic and introduction to philosophic problems); two years (or about 12 points) of foreign languages; and one year (or 3 points) of physical education (one portion devoted to “graded gymnastics”; another, to “sanitation, personal hygiene, and emergencies”!).

In addition to these prescriptions, students (up to 1929, as we shall see) were required to complete “sequential courses, aggregating 18 points each, in two departments of study.” (For the social science departments, Contemporary Civilization counted in this sequence.) This requirement was the Columbia version of the “majoring system.” In the latter twenties that part of the Honors work which consisted in specialized study along individual lines was regarded as equivalent to one of the two required sequences.

The pattern was fairly typical of many undergraduate programs. Dean Carman has remarked that “the College at that time had no well-defined objective of its own, and most of its students regarded it as an easy stepping-stone to gaining entrance to some one of the University’s professional schools. The thought that the College should be a place where the student might obtain a balanced education and come to grips with ideas and situations which would give him broad perspective . . . was largely nonexistent.”²² Whether one should say, with Dean Carman, that the College had had no “well-defined objective” or instead that its objectives had become grooved and desiccated is a verbal matter. Any curricular practice rests on at least an implicit theory. The theory of the old curriculum might once have justified itself in this wise: teach the

²² “Reminiscences of Thirty Years,” *Journal of Higher Education*, XXII (1951), 116.

student to think cogently (logic); teach him to write (English); give him the facts of the modern world about him (history); give him training in precision (mathematics) and access to other national traditions (foreign languages)—and he is launched on his career. The description of the old History A course (prior to 1919) in the College Announcement describes it in part as a “general humanistic course”—a phrase symptomatic of inevitable new directions. The trouble with the courses in the old curriculum was that the rationale of their interconnection was ill-defined, and the whole mode of study too tight and departmentalized. The widely differing (as well as the truly common) needs of students were largely ignored, and the conception of basic preparation was dubious and unimaginative. It was against such a curricular psychology that the founders of Contemporary Civilization and of Honors reading struck hard. Never mind the conventional mechanics of study, they urged. Vitalize and dramatize the values inhering in it, and the tools will take care of themselves. Make the student conscious of ideas: the traditional disciplines and techniques will be embraced by him as means to that larger end.

With the prescription of Contemporary Civilization in 1919, the requirements of History and Philosophy were dropped. A measure of direction and self-conscious purpose had been introduced at one end of the structure. When the General Honors course was begun in 1920 a similar measure of order was introduced at the other end. The first and only revolution in latter-day Columbia College had been consummated. But a fair amount of time was needed for further growth to become possible. It was not until 1927 that the College Faculty authorized its Committee on Instruction to initiate an examination and appraisal of the curriculum. A committee was appointed consisting of Adam Leroy Jones of the Philosophy department and Dean Hawkes, who were members of the Committee on Instruction; Hermon W. Farwell of the Physics department; Emery E. Neff of the English department; and Dwight C. Miner of the History department, a recent graduate of the College.

The committee began with the intention of passing primarily on the junior and senior years. It found that in these years the work of students did have direction and purpose, but that another and serious problem prevailed. The two required sequences of departmental study failed to guarantee the performance by the student of genuinely advanced work. The dispensation of 1919-20 had allowed the continuance of an abuse of the old regime: as Hawkes put it, “Too large a number [of students] were content to take a good freshman year followed by what amounts to

three sophomore years consisting largely of elementary work.”²³ Instead of reasoning that the lower end of the curricular organization was good enough, and that the problem should be solved by repair of the upper end, the curriculum committee felt the need of examining the four-year structure as a whole.

In a manner characteristic of College procedure since its time, the committee formulated a number of proposals which had the status of provisional suggestions. These suggestions were designed for submission to the Faculty. The means by which criticism would be obtained was the “staff smoker,” originally introduced by Dean Keppel but convened frequently and skillfully by Dean Hawkes. An evening would be set aside at the Faculty Club, and every member of the staff, teaching or administrative, regardless of rank, would be invited. Informal discussion, under the chairmanship of the Dean and designed to encourage candor, would terminate in a poll of opinion which all would regard as significant but not as binding. The suggestions of the 1927 committee required several smokers, after which, according to custom, they were discussed by the Dean with various faculty members, formalized by the Committee on Instruction, and presented by it to the College Faculty. The Faculty (technically, composed of the higher-ranking and permanent members of the staff) approved the curricular proposals in 1928.

The committee grounded its proposals on a study of the student body past and present. Hawkes, in 1928 and afterward, frequently expressed the result of this study as relevant for all college planning.

The new curriculum recognizes the fact that there are three types of students, each of which is worthy. . . . In the first place there is the student who is looking forward to a professional school and who is pointing his entire college work toward a broad and comprehensive preparation for a life of professional usefulness. Closely related to this type is the student who by temperament and ambition is a scholar, and for whom the most effective college course is the one which gives him the opportunity to go far toward the bottom of some field of scholarly interest. There is also the man whose best intellectual development is not obtained through research work or even through “search” work of the kind encouraged by seminars and intensive attention to the cultivation of a narrow field.²⁴

The third type of student Hawkes often called simply “the citizen to be.” And he often took pains to point out that Columbia College does not want, and aims deliberately to avoid, a homogeneous student body—

²³ Annual Report of the Dean, 1928, p. 5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

"except in respect to high intellectual capacity."²⁵ He was never afraid to use the term "intellectual," for as we have seen, he did not regard the emphasis on the "whole man" as inconsistent with the emphasis on inquiry as the primary function of the College. It has always been more or less axiomatic in the College admissions policy that a highly diversified student population contributes to a wider horizon for each student. Up to the present, the College has selected one third of its students from the city of New York, one third from an adjacent area about 100 miles in radius, and one third from the rest of the United States and the rest of the world. A cosmopolitan ideal of inquiry into all time and all existence cannot admit of a provincial body of inquirers.

In the light of the varied needs, all equally acceptable, of a varied student population, the curricular reform of 1928 rejected an orthodox "majoring system." Hence it abandoned the existing requirement of an eighteen-point sequence in each of two departments. To demand of all students that they satisfy a stipulated minimum of work in one or two fields was to reduce them all tacitly to the second of the three categories of students—the potential specialized scholar. The committee therefore introduced the system of "maturity credits." Courses of an advanced character carried maturity credit besides point or hour credit. In most cases the number of maturity credits given for a course beyond the elementary level was equal to the number of its point credits; in a highly advanced course such as a seminar, it might be double the number of point credits. Every candidate for a degree was required not only to pass courses totaling 124 points (126 after 1947) but, among these, to pass courses carrying a minimum of 60 maturity credits (50 after 1950).

This requirement at once made it impossible for a student to coast to a degree by electing only introductory courses—it denied the prerogative of "four freshman years" to those whom Hawkes called "the sons of rest."²⁶ At the same time it left the student free to work intensively in a small area; or to elect courses in many fields; or, in general, so to order his elective studies, widely or narrowly, as to promote his own ultimate interests. He and his adviser were given the maximum opportunity for planning. Among the students with strong scholarly interests, a good many had always had to make a choice among several disciplines, and the maturity credit system aimed at permitting them to experience all of

²⁵ "Columbia College," in *Five College Plans* (New York, 1931), p. 8. (The other contributors were Dean A. Chester Hanford on Harvard, President Frank Aydelotte on Swarthmore, President Louis B. Hopkins on Wabash, and Dean Chauncey S. Boucher on Chicago.)

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

these disciplines with the relative thoroughness necessary for a meaningful decision.

The curricular plan of 1928 comprised two other steps of fundamental importance. One was the creation of an additional year of Contemporary Civilization—a three-hour-a-week course required of all sophomores. The second was the withdrawal of the General Honors course. Both of these steps were directly related to the elimination of the majoring system and the institution of the maturity credit system.

Why a second year of C.C.? The enormous success, in the preceding decade, of C.C. A was sufficiently reassuring to make C.C. B less than a gamble; and this accounts for the fact that it was prescribed from the beginning (1929) without trial as an optional requirement during any preliminary period. Of commanding importance, in the introduction of C.C. B, was the consideration that greater responsibility on the student's part in the last two or elective years (the Upper College) entailed greater responsibility by the College in the first two years (the Lower College). Greater latitude in elective choice could be made far more significant if the student's fundamental equipment were sharpened and perfected. One additional required course could not do this. But a second year of C.C. could hardly be accounted just one more course. It meant extended collaboration by several departments pooling their resources, personal and intellectual, in a still greater attempt to meet the needs of the three categories of students. It meant, also, that these departments could concentrate on more advanced and more clearly defined offerings in the Upper College. By strengthening the foundation in common, they could dispense, even more securely than before, with individual, packaged, and unrelated "introduction" courses.

Why should the General Honors work have been dropped? The step appears surprising only when seen outside the context of the historical development of the College. One thinks of the emphasis on the importance of reading, on the small study group and its informal technique. The first thing to realize is that all of these values, precisely because they were prized, were destined for a more prominent part in the curriculum than they could have retained under the Honors setup. General Honors as organized in 1920 had become incongruous with a systematically evolving organization. As it stood it was not adapted to the newly defined division of aim between Upper and Lower College. The specialized "individual work" which it provided as supplementary to general reading, and which from 1927 to 1929 was accepted as fulfilling one of the two majoring sequences required, was no longer harmonious with the ma-

turity credit system. Moreover, it provided specialized study for an Honors "aristocracy." This in itself was invidious and remote in spirit from the noncompetitive atmosphere which the new elective system encouraged.

Later, the Upper College course entitled Colloquium on Important Books (1932) and the Lower College Humanities course (1937) would reintroduce, respectively, the small, advanced general discussion group and the broad program of reading that had been undifferentiated in General Honors. Humanities A would extend the study of great works to all students and indeed begin it in the freshman year—and study of the humanities would include a second year (Humanities B) embracing music and the visual arts; Colloquium would continue the enterprise of Humanities under more informal and more intensive auspices. In the years immediately following the new curricular changes, departments were requested to establish or to increase the number of their seminars and reading courses. Encouragement was given to voluntary interdepartmental seminars of a "bilateral" character, in which students would read or discuss materials common to the two disciplines involved.

The curriculum of 1929 brought with it two other mechanisms worthy of note. The first of these was the series of required weekly orientation meetings, each attended by the entire freshman class during its first semester in the College. At these meetings the freshmen might be addressed by student leaders, the Dean, or members of the Faculty. The subjects dealt with might be the history of the College, the functions and responsibilities of class officers, the nature of a liberal arts education, or the problems of student adjustment. Supervised in recent years by Assistant Dean Charles C. Cole, Jr., the meetings have permitted discussion and information of the kind most effectively communicated by oral means. Attendance on the part of each student has meant, moreover, periodical recognition of the College class as a corporate body, and as a body to which he belongs.

The second of the mechanisms introduced in 1929 was the achievement test. Students who, through previous training of an unusually thorough kind, through private preparation, or through transfer from another college, feel qualified to do advanced work more rapidly may apply for permission to "achieve" any one or more of the required courses. The vehicle of achievement is an examination covering the content of the course in question. The essential idea has been to help students proceed at the pace dictated by their capacities. After World War II achievement tests were neither applied for nor encouraged to the degree that they

were in the years following the curricular changes of 1929. At no time has the annual number of applicants been large—perhaps 50 or 60 at most in a College population of around 2,000. But the introduction of the test was noteworthy in the development of the College, if we look at it in the framework of evolving policy.

In the first place, it is one of the symbols of “intelligent flexibility.” Flexibility at Columbia has exhibited itself (and by no means always for the better) in various forms: in the character of the curricular changes; in the techniques of administration; in the College regulations themselves. An instance of administrative flexibility was the attitude of the College (in particular, the Committee on Instruction) toward the enforcement of the maturity credit requirement. Annually a number of exceptions were made, with the conviction that departures from the rule were in the interest of the particular student concerned. The achievement test is an example of flexibility in the regulations. Here, in effect, one rule is invoked not to supersede another but to render it more meaningful. Passing the test means, ostensibly, by-passing the requirement. But the “achievement” of a course presumably fulfills the intent of the requirement itself, namely, to meet the needs of the students. A prescription is not a sacred ritual but an educational instrument, and no such instrument can be absolute in scope. Anticipation of a prescribed course, like the course itself, leads the student on to other levels.

There is a second reason why the achievement test was a significant step. It is one further means of defining the College attitude toward the responsibilities of the individual student. If the student ought not to be the sole judge of his own pace, neither ought he to be ignored in the matter. As the placement test measures the relation between the College standards and the individual preparatory school, so the achievement test measures the relation between these standards and the level of the individual student.

The 1929 developments in the curriculum brought clarity in their wake. When the College in 1932 was ready to reintroduce into the junior and senior years the type of round-table course that Erskine had so firmly established in the form of General Honors, it could do so without confounding different educational functions. The Colloquium on Important Books was divided into four terms, each given over to the reading of works of successive epochs. Now the masterpieces that transcended special fields could be studied even by students who did *not* choose to do accompanying individual work in some field of the humanities. A pre-professional student, for example, could concentrate most of his maturity

credits in social science courses, and yet benefit from Colloquium. Many of the outstanding students in Colloquium have been premedical, pre-engineering, or pure science students. With the advent of Colloquium, Upper College seminar or reading courses could develop in any of three different forms: as specialized departmental offerings, as specialized interdepartmental offerings, or as general interdepartmental offerings (Colloquium being the principal instance of the third type).

The last major step in the curricular evolution of the College was yet to come. In 1937, after several years of hesitant deliberation, a four-semester Humanities course was introduced in the Lower College. Like Contemporary Civilization, it was collaboratively organized, with staff members primarily from the departments of English and Comparative Literature, Classical and Modern Languages, Fine Arts, Philosophy, and Music. The committee finally responsible²⁷ for the recommendation of Humanities saw it as the completion of the three-pillar foundation, a companion of Contemporary Civilization and natural science (the latter had assumed the form of Science A and B in 1934). This Committee on the Review of the Curriculum was under the chairmanship of Harrison R. Steeves (English), and included Clifford D. Carpenter (Chemistry), Irwin Edman (Philosophy), Hermon W. Farwell (Physics), Frederic G. Hoffherr (French), John H. Randall, Jr. (Philosophy), and Horace Taylor (Economics).

Humanities A, the freshman half of the course, meeting four hours a week, entailed reduction in the hours of Contemporary Civilization A, from five to four. Humanities B, the sophomore half, began as a two-hour course, becoming three in 1941. Humanities A was to concern itself with "outstanding masterpieces in the literature and philosophy of the European tradition"; Humanities B, with the development of awareness and sensibility in music and the visual arts. Unlike Humanities A, Humanities B was inaugurated as only an optional requirement—certain alternative courses in the humanistic fields could be selected as equivalents. It remained in this status for ten years, and wisely so, because foundational instruction in great works of music and the visual arts was far newer to the College than foundational instruction in great books. When the problems of content and instruction that inevitably accompanied it were reasonably well ironed out (1947) it became an unqualified sophomore prescription.

The extension of the Lower College curriculum in 1937 meant, then,

²⁷ The arduous spadework was done by a preliminary committee, the personnel of which are enumerated on p. 117.

that Humanities A now paralleled Contemporary Civilization A. It was the foundation (in the *disciplinary* sense) for subsequent study in the humanities, as C.C. was for study in the social sciences. But like C.C. it was also the foundation (in the *liberal* sense) for all further study whatever, and for the life of the reasonable, critical, informed citizen as Columbia College envisioned him. Humanities A classes from the first resembled those of C.C.—about twenty-five students, constituting a discussion group with one instructor who continued with it throughout the year. The course was bred by the union of the two traditions that grounded the present curriculum. From the Woodberry-Erskine Honors tradition it took the emphasis on great works of literary art and thought, read usually in their entirety; from the C.C. tradition it borrowed its version of the method of discussion, organization, and interdepartmental collaboration.

Every prescribed curriculum has, or ought to have, a shape. It cannot be a mere aggregate of subjects. There are many vantage points from which to observe retrospectively how the shape of the Lower College came to be what it is. If we select 1947, when Humanities B was made an unconditional requirement, the picture would be something like this. Three broad and adjacent foundations or platforms are built to support a wide, variegated superstructure. They are Contemporary Civilization, Natural Science, and Humanities. Around them are grouped a number of independent platforms of varying character—English, Foreign Languages, Physical Education. The three broad platforms, deeply based, are not easily removed once they are fixed, but their component parts can be modified or strengthened from time to time. The lesser foundations perhaps exhibit a more irregular history, determined by the exigencies of their relation to the central ones.

Thus in 1937, when Humanities came into being, changes were made in the English and the foreign language requirements. Those made in the latter were of an unusual kind. No alternatives were set forth, no minimum period of study specified. The student was simply held responsible for proficiency in the reading of one foreign language, and he could choose from a large number. Actually, students under this system continued to study a language in pretty much the same way as they had done in the past, for the attainment of proficiency entailed the usual amount of course work. But the more elastic form of the requirement permitted easier absorption of the new Humanities course into the body of prescribed work. (The same type of change, as we shall see in a moment, was made in the English requirement when Humanities was introduced.)

Ultimately, in 1949, the language requirement was again formalized, and the conventional type of stipulation reintroduced. This was the result of a changed attitude toward the role of the languages in the modern curriculum. From experience with language teaching during World War II the colleges had something to learn. The classroom had at its disposal more effective methods for inculcating the language as an instrument. But more significantly, under the influence of the 1945 Committee on College Plans, the view was taken that language study should be regarded not as merely the forging of a tool but as participation in cultural values other than our own. The mere "proficiency" requirement, it was felt, suggested neglect of this latter function. In opposition to such a view, a vocal minority continued to feel that effective preparation in the use of the tool (preferably on the high school level) is precisely what best guarantees its humane and literary application by the student himself. The College, however, chose to communicate the values of language study through more orthodox media.

By far the most interesting career of fluctuation has been that of the basic requirement in English. Many years ago the College and its Department of English came to sense, if not yet to accept, the fact that for elective work in English literature, as for other fields, the best preparation was the interdisciplinary foundation. Very early, therefore, the basic course in English came to operate as an important auxiliary vehicle of the growing curriculum, changing in one way or another, the better to meet the latter's needs. We have already noted that in 1922, under the influence of C.C. as a stimulus to literacy, the two years of required English (English A and B), principally emphasizing composition, were reduced to one year (English A). English A combined emphasis on writing with an introduction to literary forms. In 1929, when C.C. B was introduced, the six points of English A were reduced to three points—two hours devoted to literature and one to composition. This was a tentative version of a more precisely defined procedure which came the next year.

The 1930 change was a major one. English A concentrated entirely on the analysis of literature and its forms; an additional requirement, however, English C, was introduced, not in the form of a course but of a concomitant to English A. Through weekly themes composed during the first two months of each freshman term, the student was expected to develop clarity and fluency in his writing habits. The next major change did not come until 1937, when Humanities came on the scene. Formal introduction to literature had now, through Humanities A, been superseded by a more thorough and vital, and a less provincial, process. Eng-

lish as a required "course" ceased to exist, and only the requirement of proficiency in composition (English C) remained. But this requirement, carrying no credit, took on a novel form. It was administered in connection with the written assignments given in Contemporary Civilization and Humanities (and sometimes other courses). Regular conferences, dedicated to the analysis of these performances by the student, performances literally "in action" and based on the manipulation of difficult subject matter, were obligatory throughout the freshman and sophomore years. The conferences would be suspended (for they could be resumed) only when the student exhibited reasonable control in the use of the language. Foundational course work was thus the domain wherein he gave evidence of such control.

Like the informal foreign language requirement which had been its twin in 1937, English C barely survived World War II. Already in 1942 a half point of credit had been attached to each of its four terms. The war seemed to encourage a return to regularized, intensive work of a more formal kind in the sphere of the languages, English *and* foreign. By recommendation of the Committee on College Plans, a year of required work in freshman composition (English A) rose in 1947 from the ashes of ancient prescription. In a sense, then, the cycle had returned unto itself. But the experimentation conducted between the years 1918 and 1947 was of great profit, and the cumulative changes in the relation of English to the full-grown base curriculum were considerable. The time of the student occupied by English A after 1947 was a fraction of that occupied by the 1918 English requirement. And a new linguistic responsibility could now be delegated to C.C. and Humanities. The teachers of these courses had been learning to expect verbal articulateness as an essential phase of the total student performance. The student was now compelled to write in all subject matters as he did for his pedagogical gadfly in the English classroom.

The Columbia freshman of the fifties entered a strikingly different structure, with a far more purposive course of study, than his father knew in 1918. Among the Lower College requirements, the year of History and the year of Philosophy had given way to the two years of Contemporary Civilization. The ten to twelve points of English had given way to fourteen points of Humanities and two points of English. The amount of work in a foreign language remained substantially the same, but the number of languages from which a choice could be made increased greatly. The two-year requirement in natural science remained the same in amount, but the number of sciences from which a choice of

two could be made, as well as the character of the choice, gave the student greater latitude; and no one science was an absolute prescription, as mathematics was in 1918 and even up to 1929. The physical education requirement was slightly increased, and Hygiene (called Health Education after 1951) after 1933 became an independent course prescribed for freshmen. The junior and senior of Columbia College, obligated to deepen their studies by "concentration" and "distribution," could select from a larger number of basic graduate courses than their fathers could in 1918. Their opportunities in the Upper College were enriched by departmental and interdepartmental seminars, by Colloquium, and (after 1950) by a program of Oriental Studies containing two courses, conducted in the round-table manner: Contemporary Civilization in the Orient and Oriental Humanities. A system of Upper College advisers informed students about course contents and possible course sequences. Such assistance, however, did not take a paternalistic form. The responsibility which the College placed upon the student in the last two years was analogous to that assumed by it through prescription in the first two. It asked the student first to share its experience of what is best, then to apply this experience as his own judgment dictated.

The Committee on College Plans, which reported in 1946 to Dean Carman, had been "named in continuance of a committee appointed in July 1943 by Acting Dean McKnight to consider a College policy for the years immediately following demobilization and the return of college students from war service." Its chairman, Professor Steeves, had also been chairman, it will be recalled, of the 1937 Committee on the Review of the Curriculum. The members of the new Committee were Jacques Barzun (secretary), Stephen F. Bayne, Jr., Harry J. Carman, Clifford D. Carpenter, James Gutmann, Bernard O. Koopman, N. M. McKnight, Dwight C. Miner, John H. Randall, Jr., and Horace Taylor. Deans McKnight and Carman, recalling the impact of World War I on American education and on Columbia in particular, sensed the need of self-scrutiny on the part of the College. Among the curricular results of the Committee's report (ultimately published in book form)²⁸ were the restoration of formalized work in English and foreign languages, the unqualified prescription of Humanities B, the expansion of Physical Education and Hygiene, and the establishment in principle of a new version of Science A and B. In addition, it made numerous suggestions relating to the staff, the advisory system, the admissions policy, and the administrative organization. But, looked at broadly, its function was to express, in the most

²⁸ *A College Program in Action* (New York, 1946).

elaborate terms thus far, the College's image of itself after a generation of growth. Many things it found good; other things, like the still inadequate program of scholarship aid, far from good; still other things, like the problem of disparate policies among the departments, quite baffling. But the future could not be cause for alarm, or even concern, for the second quarter of the century had yielded more than the first.

Late in the forties, the maturity credit system began to come in for recurrent shares of criticism. Like the majoring sequences which it had supplanted, it was regarded by many as an insufficient guarantee of advanced work on the part of the Upper College student. These critics contended that in practice it encouraged far more distribution than concentration and that the values of advanced study were not experienced by the students who needed them most. The system's defenders, on the other hand, contended that if students dispersed their elective choices too widely it was the fault not of the system but of the insufficiently rich College offerings in a number of departments.

Neither of these viewpoints was entirely unjustified. And the reason was that certain developments after World War II interfered with the normal operation of the system. First, unsettled conditions necessitated a large number of individual exemptions from the maturity credit requirement. Second, the enormous increase in the University's graduate school enrollments, with its consequent drain on experienced personnel, resulted in an instability of Upper College elective programs. Third, the various departments had gradually come to place more and more of their courses on the list of those that carried maturity credits, until the vast majority of courses, advanced or not, were maturity credit-bearing courses.

The result was that between 1950 and 1953 Dean Chamberlain and the Committee on Instruction gave close attention to the general problem of the Upper College. They were concerned, among other things, with the current effects of a long-standing College provision known as the "professional option" plan. Under this plan, half a century old, a student at the end of his third College year might enter one of the University's professional schools (or any approved medical or dental school) and after his first year there receive the A.B. degree from the College. In effect, for a considerable number of students, a year of professional study replaced the fourth year of College work. Many years ago, when professional schools required only two years of college, the plan effectively induced students to take an additional year of liberal arts work. But in the fifties, when the four-year college was the more normal predecessor

of professional school, the same plan, ironically enough, was serving as a contrary incentive, as an inducement to the student to accelerate College work.

In large measure the problem of the Upper College reflected the problems of American society and the world. Many students were preprofessional in their basic outlook as well as in their classification when they entered the College. The narrowness of this outlook was mitigated, and in most cases even totally suspended, by the all-consuming intellectual excitement of the Lower College program. The student had, in any event, no alternative but to lend himself to disinterested and liberal study. In the junior year, however, vocational consciousness was likely to be reawakened or be born. Preprofessional students might discover that a competitive world faced them, and students uncertain of their vocation might be distracted by the need to prepare for economic self-sufficiency. To such social enemies of liberal inquiry were added the unprecedented cost of college education and the inevitability of military service. And the solution of the problem was further complicated by the diversity of the student body, a diversity that had always been prized by the College. The College had always aimed to better its students by encouraging the maximum of humane study. How far could it go in benevolent compulsion short of becoming a prison or a cloister?

Late in 1953 the College Faculty voted to abolish both professional option (except for pre-engineers) and the maturity credit system of measuring advanced work by the student. In place of the latter system it introduced a concentration requirement. Students entering in or after September, 1954, had either to adopt a "major" course of study for their Upper College years (if it were provided by the department in question) or to select at least twenty-four points of work in a single department. Such concentration included at least one seminar and at least twelve points of related work in other departments.

By abolishing professional option the College moved closer to the ideal that Dean Keppel had envisioned. By formulating the concentration requirement, admittedly subject to future refinement, it took steps to make study in the Upper College as intensive and absorbing as that in the Lower College and yet of a more independent character appropriate to upper-classmen. The requirement was not comparable to the pre-1929 majors system. For in 1954 the Lower College was vastly different from what it had been in the earlier period. Thirty-five years of reflection and practice had built a foundation which posed rigorous standards for any upper college. The gradual shaping, then, of a more impressive super-

structure in the years immediately following the Bicentennial was the basic problem defined for the College by Deans Chamberlain and McKnight.

AUTHORITY, STRATEGY, AND CONFLICT IN HAMILTON

A recent popular writer on Columbia University speaks of a "pathological condition that permeates the whole organization. . . . a nameless, morbid fear or timidity. It is better not to ask anybody for any kind of permission because the person asked is apt to look at you accusingly, as if you were putting him on the spot."²⁹ It would be interesting to know how many requests "for permission," and whose alleged evasion of them, served as the basis for this generalization. In any event, if we take not the whole University but Columbia College as our scene, we find scant evidence of renunciation of responsibility. A dean, a departmental representative, or a teacher knows pretty well what his obligations and prerogatives are, probably because he is not constantly reminded of them. Columbia College is large enough to be cosmopolitan and small enough to preserve an *esprit de corps*. Its administrative structure is loose enough to minimize tension, simple enough to permit efficiency without excessive authority.

In its recent Deans—Hawkes, Carman, and Chamberlain—the College has had consistent stewardship by men combining imagination with reason. Each of them stepped into the deanship from the Columbia classroom. Each preserved an interest in scholarship and preserved the continuity between teaching and administration. Each, at the time he took office, was at home in the problems of the College, the temporary as well as the persistent problems. Each continued to participate actively in advisory work. And each had had the opportunity to be more than superficially acquainted with most members of the College staff.

Herbert Edwin Hawkes was born in Templeton, Massachusetts, on December 6, 1872. He received his A.B. in 1896 and his Ph.D. in 1900, both from Yale. In 1898 Yale made him an instructor in mathematics, and between 1903 and 1910 he taught as assistant professor. He came to Columbia as professor in 1910, not to do administrative work but to strengthen the Department of Mathematics by his promising scholarship. Fate and the College conspired to make him Acting Dean in 1917 and Dean in 1919. The dominating interests of the different periods of his career are indicated by such publications as *Higher Algebra* (1913) and *College—What's the Use?* (1927). When he died on May 4, 1943, "Mr.

²⁹ Horace Coon, *Columbia: Colossus on the Hudson* (New York, 1947), p. 17.

Hawkes, of the Dean's office," as he used to announce himself over the telephone, had served for twenty-six years in that capacity.

Harry James Carman, lifelong dirt farmer, was born in Greenfield, New York, on January 22, 1884. After teaching district school from 1903 to 1905, he entered Syracuse University, receiving the Ph.B. in 1909. He taught history and political science there, as instructor and assistant professor, from 1914 to 1917. In 1917 he became an instructor in history at Columbia, and in 1919 received the Ph.D. from the University. Before entering the deanship in 1943, he had made the customary ascent of the academic ladder—assistant professor in 1921, associate professor in 1925, professor in 1931, and (a far from customary office) Moore Collegiate Professor in 1939. With teaching, scholarship, and administration he combined a large number of public and social activities; for instance, membership in the New York City Board of Higher Education and the New York State Mediation Board, and adult education work in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. His publications include *Social and Economic History of the United States* (2 vols., 1930–34); *Jesse Buel, Agricultural Reformer* (1947); and (with H. C. Syrett) *A History of the American People* (1952). On leaving the deanship in 1950 by statutory requirement he became Dean Emeritus, resumed teaching, and continued his variegated activity.

Lawrence Henry Chamberlain, born in Challis, Idaho, on March 15, 1906, taught in the public schools from 1926 to 1931, during which period he attended the University of Idaho and graduated with the degree of B.S. in Education. After receiving the A.M. he taught political science at Idaho as instructor (1932–37) and assistant professor (1937–40). In 1941 he came to Columbia as instructor in government. He took leave from the University in 1942 to become an officer in the Naval Reserve and Assistant to the Director of the Naval School of Military Government and Administration. In 1945, when he returned to regular status, he received his Ph.D. from the University, was appointed Assistant Professor of Government, and served as a member of the International Secretariat in the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. He was made associate professor in 1947, professor in 1949, and Dean in 1950. He is the author of *President, Congress and Legislation* (1946), *American Foreign Policy* (with R. C. Snyder, 1948), and *Loyalty and Legislative Action* (1951).

One thinks of a dean as the person who completes or renders decisions. But of course the tide of events is always complex. In no academic in-

stitution is it possible precisely to locate an ultimate seat of authority. In the first place, decisions rarely take the form of simple statements by single persons: a chain of factors terminates in a formal utterance dependent on each link in the chain. In the second place, since rules do not operate by themselves but only through academic interpreters, decisions depend upon an admixture of statutes, administrative traditions, and configurations of personalities. In the third place, it may not make sense to speak, in the case of some institutions, of an ultimate seat of authority at all. This consideration applies particularly to Columbia University and therefore to Columbia College. On specific matters, final responsibility may be understood to reside in one body or office. Thus, budgetary allocations require final approval of the University Trustees; course planning, though ordinarily an informal relation involving an instructor, his department, and the Committee on Instruction, is consummated by the latter body; student standing depends, in a course, on the instructor's judgment, and in the College, on the judgment of the Dean of Students. The College draws its Faculty from the University's departments which offer courses in other divisions of the University, such as the graduate schools. This applies to the teaching staff of the basic Lower College courses, C.C. and Humanities, as it does to that of all other courses. There are no "College" departments. Nor are there College divisions, covering broad areas. Nor is the College itself an area "division" of the University. Every teacher in the College is a member of some department in the University, and holds his appointment from the University, though his teaching duties may, either customarily or in a given semester, be predominantly in the College, predominantly outside the College, or exclusively in the College. The Faculty of the College consists of the Dean, the Dean of Students, the Assistant Dean, and those teachers of professorial rank who customarily give at least half of their instruction to College classes.

Dean Hawkes had a keen appreciation of the fact that a college, in the last analysis, is a complex interrelation of persons who embody interests and obligations. Formal conclaves, ceremonial sessions laboring under parliamentary minutiae—these he felt to be only the outer crust of College procedure. He was fond of exposing, with his gentle irony, a situation that every faculty member knew but could not publicly proclaim. "Whether it be a cause for pride or contrition, the fact is there has not been a debate of any appreciable extent in the Faculty meetings of Columbia College for more than ten years."³⁰ In 1933 he stated—definitely with pride and not contrition—that "no action of importance is taken

³⁰ *Five College Plans*, p. 20.

[in Columbia College] without ample discussion by members of the staff in informal conference.”³¹ He was thinking specifically of the smokers, but the statement could as well have applied to the numerous day-to-day conferences among individuals that he knew to be necessary for real clarification. Two years earlier he had explained where Columbia College stood in the matter of administrative organization.

There are two theories in regard to college administration which are diametrically opposed to each other. According to one theory, every member of the teaching staff is to have his part in administration. According to this policy there should be many committees of the faculty, many faculty meetings for debates and detailed action. Each member of the staff should sit on one or more of these committees in order that he may feel that the administration of the college is a part of his affair. According to the other point of view, the work of administration is performed by administrative offices. Committees should be few but significant. The faculty should meet only when any legislation is necessary, and the teaching staff should devote itself to the advance of scholarship and the work of instruction.

As between these two positions, Columbia College is definitely in favor of the second.³²

During the early years of the century the first of these two conceptions had prevailed in the College. A large number of standing committees were surrounded by transitory special committees, appointed to consider detailed and specific questions. In 1908, however, there came into existence the Committee on Instruction, which should have jurisdiction over matters relating to the curriculum and which should deal with any question specially delegated to it by the Faculty. This was the major step in the detachment of executive functions from the legislative functions that remained with the Faculty and signified Faculty supremacy. By 1913 the Committee on Instruction had assumed essentially the form it has today. It consists of six members, two elected by the Faculty each year for three-year terms, with the Dean as chairman ex-officio. The idea originally was, and is, to rotate membership in such a way that the Committee always consists of Faculty personnel who have not previously served. Theoretically, then, over the years, the standing Committee on Instruction becomes coextensive with the Faculty of Columbia College. By the late twenties Hawkes felt that within the Committee itself a separation of functions was taking place. The Committee he saw as primarily concerned with the discussion of policies and principles, the executive function passing more and more to the Dean. He believed that to multiply

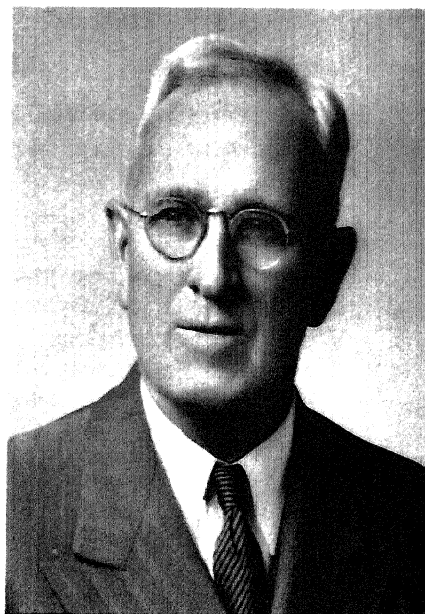
³¹ Annual Report of the Dean, 1933, p. 18.

³² *Five College Plans*, p. 19.



Pack Bros

HERBERT E. HAWKES
Acting Dean, 1917-1919
Dean, 1919-1943

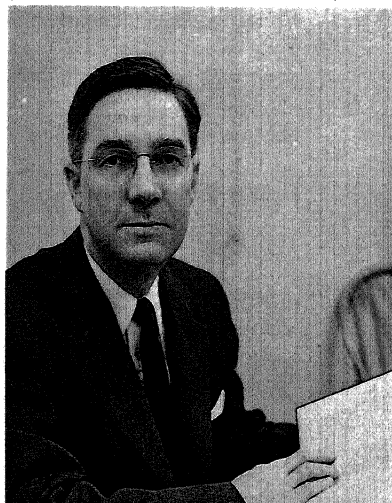


HARRY J. CARMAN
Dean, 1943-1950



NICHOLAS MCD. MCKNIGHT
Associate Dean, 1931-1949
Acting Dean, 1943

LAWRENCE H. CHAMBERLAIN
Dean, 1950-



unrealistically the duties of any collegiate body, whether the chief Committee or the Faculty as a whole, was to undermine its principal function and to obscure it among trivia.

Among the functions that Hawkes thought should be removed entirely from Faculty concern was that of student "discipline." Neither the faculty nor faculty committees should give their collective time to the disposition of problems that relate to individuals. Nor should the teacher be burdened with offenses, infractions, or irregularities that are best dealt with by the Dean's office, which focuses the standards of the College and applies them to individual cases. Erskine has told a story about Woodberry that nicely dramatizes Hawkes's conviction from the teacher's standpoint.

There was . . . a legend at Columbia that Woodberry's first classes, in the early nineties, found something ridiculous in this dreamy, soft-spoken man who conferred with them on equal terms about the spirit of Shelley, or the imagination of Milton, or the moral grandeur of Sophocles, or the divine myths of Plato. Those first students of his, we heard, started a riot, just to see what he would do. In surprise and sorrow he gathered his books and his notes, and retired to his study. . . . President Low sent for him, and said he understood there had been trouble in his class.

"Indeed there has been!"

"What do you intend to do about it, Mr. Woodberry?"

"Nothing, Mr. President."

Mr. Low was astonished at this detachment.

"No," continued Woodberry, "you invited me to lecture at Columbia on literature, to persons, presumably, who wished to hear. Of course I can lecture to no one against his will." That held Mr. Low for a moment.

"Perhaps," suggested Mr. Woodberry, "a little discipline might render the students more attentive."

"And who," asked the President, "is to introduce discipline into your classroom?"

"You," said Mr. Woodberry; "I am a teacher. The disciplinary function resides in the college executive."

"Let me ask one more question," said Mr. Low. "When you speak of discipline, what have you in mind?"

"The guillotine."³³

The problem of student discipline, ordinarily relative to the classroom, the dormitory, the record books, arose in a novel form and with an unprecedented fury during the thirties. The aftermath of the Great Depression led in the College, as elsewhere, to a reappraisal of all things under

³³ Erskine, *Memory of Certain Persons*, p. 92.

the sun. Dissent crystallized itself in the columns of the *Spectator*. Under the editorship of Reed Harris in 1931 the paper devoted a large portion of its space to social criticism and world affairs. In his editorials Harris discussed the educational implications of college R.O.T.C. units and various issues of academic freedom. He declared anti-Semitism to be widespread at Columbia, denounced secret societies in the College, and suggested that favoritism was shown to athletes. When, finally, he republished charges made in the paper the previous year, that the College dining halls were being run for profit and not for the service of students, he was removed from the editorship and expelled. Hawkes, in so doing, accused Harris of misrepresentation and repeated discourtesy. A bitter struggle followed. The Harris case became a widespread, publicly discussed issue. A few days after the expulsion, a crowd of variously reported size from the University and the city at large convened on the campus and voted a "strike," which was carried out with variously reported degrees of success forty-eight hours later. The American Civil Liberties Union in behalf of Harris argued for many days with representatives of the University. Harris was reinstated and he resigned from the College.

In 1934, under the editorship of James Wechsler, the *Spectator* was temporarily suspended. This time the case was not of national proportions. It involved a struggle by the paper's staff to avoid curbs—proposed by the Student Board and allegedly inspired by the administration—on the independence of the student editorship. Fulfilling the tradition inaugurated by Harris, Wechsler the very next year (1935) published a volume called *Revolt on the Campus*. This was an examination of social conceptions and practices in American colleges, particularly as they affected the student. American higher education was held to be dominated by reaction and prejudice, anti-minority bias, and distrust of free opinion. The American student, on the other hand, forced by economic crisis to the acceptance of blunt realities, was pictured as assuming a new role of independence and protest. Not freshman-sophomore "rushes" but issues of great moment filled their consciousness.

Wechsler's book, if perhaps influenced disproportionately by the current atmosphere of instability, was in many ways a remarkable performance. It was strongly reminiscent of Upton Sinclair's 1922 volume *The Goose-Step*. Both books uncover embarrassing facts in endless profusion, and both suffer somewhat from a tendency to confuse such facts with the entire academic enterprise. Both overestimate the value of an extended bill of particulars. Neither purports to be a thorough sociological

study of the academic world, and both are deficient in the guiding ideas and the coherency which only such an analysis could have provided. Wechsler remained freer than Sinclair of emotionalism and rashness (Sinclair had "characterized" Columbia as "The University of the House of Morgan"). In the midst of his exposé, Wechsler felt constrained to say that Columbia's "classrooms are endowed with almost unrestricted freedom: within them discussion and controversy are allowed to flourish to a degree seldom attained elsewhere."³⁴

Hawkes was not at his best, academically or temperamentally, in dealing with matters like the Reed Harris case. His forte was the intimate student situation calling for personal conversation and subtle diplomacy. Nothing was more important to him than helping boys out of difficulties, analyzing the root of their college problems. His close associates knew that in his sympathy for the halt and the lame he was inclined to deny a due proportion of time to the brilliant and independent students. By cases of the Harris variety Hawkes was shocked, bewildered. He expected students to reciprocate his own approach, which was quiet, earnest, and tactful, with a reserve of humor and broad perspective. Yet he could say, reflecting on the plight of students in the early thirties:

They are caught in the terrible aftermath [of the War] in which nothing seems stable. . . . Consequently they are quite adrift from the traditions and procedures that seemed so important to their fathers. Stability and tradition are foreign to their world. They talk about social and political change, they are critical of anything that has been, whether religious, ethical, social, or political, they are serious in feeling that the intense nationalism of the past has gotten us nowhere, and they do not propose to assent blindly to those ideas and assumptions that led up to the smash of twenty years ago. With this attitude, is it strange that a tug of war or a flag rush seems trivial? Is it to be wondered that serious youth decline to fiddle when everything that they value seems to be in flames? Those of us whose function it is to serve as ballast must at least attempt to understand before we condemn.³⁵

Hawkes's concern with the individual student, far from conflicting with his attention to the broader phases of curriculum and administration, was actually intensified by it. In fact, most of his interests were in one way or another related by the attention he gave to one very fundamental problem. This problem could be expressed by the deceptively simple question: What is the role of the College in the University? Now if "role" is to be interpreted in a purely theoretical way, and if the question

³⁴ James Wechsler, *Revolt on the Campus* (New York, 1935), p. 403.

³⁵ Annual Report of the Dean, 1934, pp. 15-16.

calls for the statement of a norm, the answer is not difficult. Hawkes, Carman, and Chamberlain all expressed it. Thus in 1934, as in the early twenties, Hawkes conceived of the College as "a nucleus of men whose primary concern is liberal arts education and to whom the influence of the liberal arts college in the intellectual and social growth of its students is a matter of supreme concern."³⁶ Dean Carman in 1944 emphasized that "the College should remain a liberal arts college and a citadel of general education in the best sense of these terms."³⁷ And in 1951 Dean Chamberlain, continuing the militant tradition which sees the liberal arts approach in positive terms, defined the function of the College to be provision of the opportunity for a young person "to draw upon the accumulated knowledge and experience of civilization in the development of his own intellectual and moral equipment."³⁸

But only if the "role" of the College in the University is considered in terms of working actualities can the problem of undergraduate education at Columbia be fully understood. A good college is a college with a good staff, good courses, and good opportunities for student development. These depend upon a variety of factors, and in a college that is part of a large university, the factors are likely to be very numerous and very complex. Among university colleges, some are self-contained and autonomous in the sense that they have their own departments, divisions, and instructors not related to other university departments called by the same name. Columbia College is not autonomous in this sense. It has of course its own Faculty. But this Faculty is a body of University members who as College officers exercise independent legislative authority over educational matters relating to the College as such. The members of this Faculty may and do give instruction at the graduate level or in the School of General Studies as well as in the College. Each University department has a "departmental representative" for the College.

Neither the College nor the Graduate Faculties has independent financial resources. Both are operated under a general University budget. It is the department that initiates recommendations for promotion or salary increase. The departmental penetration of different parts of the University yields to the College an enormous wealth and variety of personnel. It opens to undergraduate upperclassmen the possibility of taking courses at the graduate level that might otherwise be unavailable to them. And in general, the presence of the College in the University offers to students facilities which, as Deans Chamberlain and McKnight pointed out in their

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁷ Annual Report of the Dean, 1944, p. 8.

³⁸ Foreword to "The Development of Leadership and the Future of General Education" (Columbia College Fund, 1951), p. 1.

1951 report, "no independent college could duplicate";³⁹ for instance, University laboratory and library facilities. Some university colleges which are autonomous in the sense in which Columbia College is not can appoint, for their social science and humanities programs, men especially suited to their needs. Columbia College, unable to make separate collegiate appointments, and dependent upon departmental choices, relies rather on the existence of departmental responsibility and on the superior diversity of personnel ultimately available to it.

Depending on their individual traditions and on the makeup of their memberships, the departments' conception of their roles in the College will vary. Some departments regard participation in the undergraduate and graduate programs as of equal importance. Others tend to think of College work as of lesser importance. Some departments (and these cut across the two groups just mentioned) think that their most distinguished members ought to be occupied with graduate (or possibly elective College) courses and that only their junior members ought to be assigned to the freshman and sophomore offerings. Others encourage the widest possible participation by all their members on all levels of teaching. Some departments, therefore, tend to be segmented into a group which teaches exclusively in the College and a group which teaches exclusively under a Graduate Faculty; whereas in others there is no such stratification and teaching schedules are likely to exhibit diversity as well as periodical variation for each individual case. What makes such departmental differences important is that they can affect seriously both the College student and the College teacher. They can result in a rich College staff or in uneven departmental representation. They can result in the fulfillment of a teacher's aims or in the frustration of his capacities. Departments which underestimate the importance of undergraduate work are not likely to regard College teaching or curricular planning as credit toward promotion.

However the functions of a dean of Columbia College are interpreted, there is one obligation that is binding upon him: to see that the resources of the University are kept fully available to the College and that the collegiate contribution be properly valued by the rest of the University. The Dean can, if he sees fit, direct his activities toward greater relative independence of the College.⁴⁰ Or he can adopt a policy—on the whole, the policy of Hawkes, Carman, and Chamberlain—which discerns the

³⁹ Annual Report of the Dean, 1951, p. 6.

⁴⁰ Four of the seventeen units of the University—Teachers College, Barnard College, the New York School of Social Work, and the College of Pharmacy—have their own budgets and boards of trustees.

advantages for the College of a multifaceted organization and seeks to extend them. President Butler's report for 1941 contained a long-range interpretation of the relation between the College and the University.

It is plain from the journals and diaries of distinguished men who were graduated from old Columbia College . . . that there was restlessness and dissatisfaction—whether justified or unjustified—with the work of the College of their day. It was from these conditions that the movement sprang for the broadening and strengthening of the College which eventually led to the development and organization of Columbia University. . . . Since and because of the organization of Columbia University, Columbia College has advanced by leaps and bounds. . . . The problems which have faced the American college in general during the past generation have, of course, perplexed the Faculty of Columbia College. During the past twenty years, however, these problems have been most satisfactorily advanced toward solution under the far-sighted leadership of Dean Hawkes and the admirable faculty associated with him. The contacts between the College and the University have been of greatest advantage to the College. The relatively insignificant college of fifty years ago, with an enrollment of some 250 students drawn chiefly from the Island of Manhattan, is now a powerful school of the liberal arts and sciences, with an enrollment of nearly two thousand students drawn from every state in the Union and from a score of other countries. . . . So it has come to pass that the small college which it was proposed to abandon fifty years ago in order to make way for the University has been made by that University many times stronger and more influential than would have seemed possible in 1891.⁴¹

Hawkes himself, however, had not arrived at such a conclusion without considerable speculation over the possibilities. He knew that to attribute the development of the College to its place in a university was only part of the story. The urban character of the College, its mere location, its growth in step with the growth of the city of New York—these were equally part of the story. This urban status, with its inevitable cosmopolitanism, was not only an explanation of the past; it was an asset in the present. Columbia College offered to students the city of New York along with itself; it offered artistic, intellectual, and sociological advantages, opportunities for part-time employment, sheer variety of experience.

But granting the advantages for the College of its relation to the University, there were perplexing aspects to the further problem of how the relation might evolve over the years. Hawkes spoke of "a difficult di-

⁴¹ *Annual Report*, 1941, pp. 26-27.

lemma," which arose from "the desire to develop the College in two opposite directions at the same time." The one desire, in effect a return to the past, is that of "the snug little college nestled in the University," with an insulated curriculum and a separate staff. The other is a professionalization or depersonalization of the College, its courses taught by University staff members unconnected with any collegiate entity. In the latter situation, with its absorption of all actual functions into the University, the College would be a mere level, not a community. Such an arrangement, Hawkes saw, would leave no room for the fundamental basis of education and of the good morale that it needs, namely, loyalty. Teachers require the sense of a common enterprise, and a college must, in justice to its students, give opportunity "for the warmth of personal relations, for the interest in personal difficulties, the cultivation of an emotional attitude of loyalty toward things of the mind and the channels through which one is introduced to them."⁴²

Hawkes knew that the College was steering a mean between these extremes, that it was as far from being a discrete unit with complete autonomy as it was from being an "amorphous and soulless replica of the old German university"⁴³ on the undergraduate level. He realized also that what had given the College its strength and uniqueness was the character of its early postwar tradition. But he was anxious to perfect the system as well as to perpetuate it. And he sensed that the key to this was an adequate responsiveness by the University to the needs of teachers. Certain tendencies at Columbia, not universal but all too widespread, had to be corrected. The department should not look upon College teaching as apprenticeship to graduate teaching or as a mere contractual obligation by which it supplies young instructors. On his side, the teacher interested in College work should not be compelled to take the corresponding view of his status. As Hawkes saw it, the optimum College situation required the acceptance of two guiding principles: first, that each instructor be given the utmost freedom possible in the choice of his academic duties; and second, that service to the College, in any of its forms, be regarded as a regular basis for salary increase and promotion. What was implied by the two principles was that those who speak of "distinguished work" as the sole criterion of advancement usually take too narrow a view of academic distinction. Skillful stimulation of young minds, constructive performance as adviser, meaningful service on committees, careful edit-

⁴² All quotations in this paragraph are from the Annual Report of the Dean, 1934, p. 17.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

ing of source materials can all be contributions amounting to distinguished service—at least as much as the publication of an article in a learned journal.

Neither Hawkes nor Carman ever wished to make an *opposition* between College service and scholarship. On the contrary, what both resented was a narrow conception of scholarship: particularly, the attitude which regards work in the classroom or in the planning of courses as an interruption of scholarly work, or the view that measures scholarship by the mere number of a man's publications. In 1941 Hawkes thought it possible to say that great progress had been made in the University. "In every department service to the College is one of the important grounds on which promotion and increase in salary are recommended for college officers, a marked contrast with the attitude twenty-five years ago."⁴⁴ But he continued to view the preservation of the balance between complete autonomy and complete submergence as a "delicate matter"⁴⁵ requiring vigilance and broad executive perception.

Hawkes's 1941 report was a counterbalance to another report that year issued by an alumni committee of the Class of 1921. The "Condon Committee" vigorously criticized an alleged underestimation of the College, urged physical expansion of College facilities, and recommended the partial separation of the College from the University on the model of Barnard and Teachers College. It recommended, finally, the appointment of a basic committee on the College.⁴⁶ The last recommendation bore direct fruit when, in 1943, by a resolution of the Trustees, the President appointed a Committee on the State of Columbia College, consisting of three Trustees, three College Faculty members, and three alumni.⁴⁷ This committee was to be concerned specifically with problems arising from the relation of the College to the University. In its subsequent reports it proposed retention of the existing over-all departmental arrangement, suggesting additional mechanisms by which closer collaboration could be effected among College, departments, and University administration, and suggesting formal procedure for recommending the advancement of teachers who devote half or more of their time to the College. It stressed, at the same time, the preponderant advantages of the University relationship. It therefore took a much more conservative approach than some alumni might have wished. But its very existence (though limited) was a salutary force, and it in time contributed to a later body that prom-

⁴⁴ Annual Report of the Dean, 1941, p. 12.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ See Coon, *Columbia: Colossus on the Hudson*, pp. 360-63.

⁴⁷ For further details of the composition and work of this committee, see p. 246.

ised still greater benefits. In 1951 the Trustees created the Columbia College Council "for the purpose of advising on policy in matters affecting the welfare and development of Columbia College."⁴⁸ The membership of the Council, limited to thirty, included the Dean, the Dean of Students, alumni and Development Program officers (all of these ex-officio), alumni, and (after 1953) two teaching members of the College Faculty. Though an important instrument of fund-raising, the Council was to have a much broader scope. According to the annual report of the Dean for 1951, it "meets a need not previously served by any existing agency or combination of agencies."⁴⁹ The creation of the Council encouraged anew the widely shared sentiment, frequently expressed by Dean Carman, that Columbia College "is logically and naturally the heart of the University."⁵⁰

No more militant defender of the collegiate standpoint than Harry Carman ever appeared at Columbia. He brought to the deanship an enormous capacity for the understanding of persons and a power of affection that transcended the influence of academic protocol. As with Hawkes, his respect for the individual, whether student or staff member, was the key to his administrative strategy. But whereas Hawkes felt that humane procedures could be fitted into the framework of traditional good form, Carman saw the need of inoculating academic diplomacy with plain-spoken appraisals. If he genuinely felt that a teacher's advancement was being delayed for the wrong reasons, he would communicate his feelings and take aggressive measures. All this he could do without offense, because his disinterestedness was patent, indeed notorious. In 1951 he expressed the opinion—perhaps with a trace of his inherent optimism—that "only rarely now is a departmental chairman reluctant to give credit for work in general education. . . . In fact, we have only one such department, and that one is loaded with prima donnas few of whom have given instruction in general education and few of whom are really concerned about the education of young men and women."⁵¹

Carman assumed the deanship on November 1, 1943. The two-year period preceding this was of course momentous in American history. But it was also a period that is of peculiar significance for the understanding of Columbia College. In his last annual report (1942) Dean Hawkes appraised the character of the war situation, both in its general educational effects and its impact on the College.

⁴⁸ Annual Report of the Dean, 1951, p. 7.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁰ See Annual Report of the Dean, 1945, p. 7; *ibid.*, 1946, p. 15; *ibid.*, 1944, p. 8.

⁵¹ "Reminiscences of Thirty Years," *Journal of Higher Education*, XXII (1951), 119.

With the authorities of the Army and the Navy emphasizing the important need of engineers, physicians, dentists . . . with the selective service boards exercising complete autonomy regarding induction, often without uniformity either of policy or practice . . . and with the additional opportunity of enlistment in any arm of the service, the individual student who desired to be of maximum national service could not be blamed for his state of utter confusion.⁵²

The temptation and the social pressure to reverse normal College procedures and to organize hastily new projects relevant to the war effort was great. The College, however, eschewed what Hawkes called "a more spectacular policy" in favor of "an attitude of conservatism." Already in 1942 a goodly portion of the staff had been drawn off for military service or government work; the United States Naval Reserve Midshipmen's School of New York had taken over dormitories, classrooms, and South Field; and hardship in maintaining educational standards had begun. Yet Hawkes felt that "the educational and administrative structure of the College ought to have sufficient flexibility to permit its adjustment to the emergency without being scrapped for the duration."⁵³ These words proved to be prophetic, and the value of ordered flexibility in the College tradition is well exemplified by the technique of wartime adjustment. Both of Hawkes's immediate successors, McKnight and Carman, and the College Faculty as a whole, could be said to have felt as he did when he commented on a prospective crisis in personnel: "This merely means that those of us who remain will perform our part in national service by taking on heavier duties."⁵⁴

By the end of 1942, 974 students of the College (about half of that year's total registration) had enrolled in one or another of the reserve programs of the armed forces. This meant that they were enlisted on inactive duty status and were subject to call. Acting Dean McKnight noted, in his report of 1943, that while the courses of study recommended by the individual services "were heavily weighted on the side of mathematics, science, and engineering, there was explicit recognition of the values of English, history, and the social sciences in preparation for service in the armed forces."⁵⁵ One third of those who had been teaching in the College in December, 1941, were now on leave, but skillful administrative techniques on all hands enabled the Acting Dean to have "every reason to believe that, despite certain departures from established

⁵² Annual Report of the Dean, 1942, pp. 6-7.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁵ Annual Report of the Acting Dean, 1943, p. 4.

practice, the educational program of the College will go forward without loss of any important values.”⁵⁶

Early in 1943 the College Faculty had adopted a resolution affirming the liberal ideal in the face of war. It is worthy of note.

RESOLVED: The Faculty of Columbia College wishes to record its earnest conviction that the study of the liberal arts must not be permitted to languish during the existing national emergency, but that such study must be pursued with great vigor and to as full an extent as the circumstances of war will permit. We are resolved that our immediate objective is and will be to give all possible aid to our country in the present great struggle. We also are resolved that our concurrent long-time objective is and will be to support and sustain the study of the liberal arts, and to do all that we can to maintain such study unimpaired.⁵⁷

With the academic year that began on July 1, 1943, there came a time of intensification and acceleration, and of apprentice seamen in the classroom. The University on that date became a participant in the Navy's College Training Program. Its “V-12” students entered upon either pre-medical or pre-engineering studies in Columbia College. Between 1943 and 1945 the ratio of V-12 students to civilian students was approximately six to five. The naval program required three sixteen-week terms a year, and the College adopted the three-term year as its regular calendar, not only to expedite its over-all activities, but to make acceleration opportunities available to civilian students.

As soon as the situation permitted, namely, in July, 1945, the trimestral system was abandoned, with the acquiescence of the Navy. Staff and students were almost unanimously of the opinion that it had been only a necessary evil. Columbia was among the first colleges in the country to return to a prewar calendar. Those who taught with scarcely any interruption during the two-year trimestral period can remember, along with the strain of their work, the devotion and equanimity of the students, both naval and civilian. Such dispassionate attachment to inquiry could hardly justify the concern in some quarters about the future of the liberal arts. “The liberal arts,” said Acting Dean McKnight, “have survived many more world upheavals than the colleges have. If there is any saving to be done, I suspect it is the liberal arts which will preserve the colleges rather than the other way around.”⁵⁸

Through the war years the College succeeded in preserving intact

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

C.C., Humanities, the principle of the small section, and the advisory system. It had introduced special courses in map making, statistics, Morse Code, and naval history with speed and fluidity, and without impairing either the normal operation of the basic curriculum or faith in its educational primacy. The student population, dependent mainly on the draft and the reserve programs, had fluctuated greatly from year to year. In 1944-45 it dropped to 1,199. But in 1946-47 it rose to the unprecedented total (by College standards) of 2,761. This number resulted from the readmission of Columbia veterans and from the obligation to admit both non-Columbia veterans with G.I. rights and civilian applicants from secondary schools. The College adopted the policy of admitting non-Columbia veterans and high school graduates in equal numbers. The Committee on College Plans in 1946 recommended 2,000 as the optimum student population for Columbia, and accordingly the number was gradually reduced from 2,761 in 1946-47 to 2,191 in 1951-52. In 1946 a Navy Reserve Officers' Training Corps unit was established at the College. In anticipation of certain Navy requirements making it difficult for a student to complete both the R.O.T.C. course and the A.B. program in four years, the degree of Bachelor of Naval Science was established in 1945. But up to 1950 only five students were awarded this degree, and it was discontinued in that year.

The immediate postwar period saw no changes comparable to those of the earlier postwar period. The outstanding fact of the College was the intensity, the emotional maturity, the concrete performance of the war veterans. In World War II a course on war issues had hardly been as urgent as in World War I. The educational structure of Columbia College, as of many colleges it had helped to influence, this time could take contemporaneity in its stride. Dean Carman, however, warned against self-satisfaction with the existing College Program: "Smugness and complacency on the part of any institution of learning or of any individual in it are apt to be symptoms of dry rot and retrogression."⁵⁹ In American colleges after the war there was much talk of "democratic education," a good deal of it hollow and ill-defined. One danger haunted those academic spokesmen who knew that there would not always be a G.I. Bill and that not all students could be G.I.'s, the danger that higher education might soon be available only to boys in higher income brackets.

As early as 1924 Hawkes had expressed concern over the fact that

⁵⁹ Annual Report of the Dean, 1944, p. 7.

the funds for scholarships in the College amounted to less than a third of the funds available in colleges of the same size as Columbia and with far wealthier student bodies. It was accordingly necessary to confine scholarship awards to freshmen and sophomores and to arrange for loans to juniors and seniors who could otherwise not continue. As a result, Hawkes could say that "no student who does his college work faithfully and well is obliged to leave because he cannot pay his tuition."⁶⁰ Again in 1946 the Committee on College Plans pointed out that "our expenditure upon the subsidizing of actually deserving undergraduate scholarship is below that of institutions of comparable size and importance."⁶¹ And in 1951 the Columbia College Fund pointed out that the College provided assistance for about 15 percent of the student body, whereas the norm for "ivy league" colleges was 25 percent.⁶² Late in 1951 a considerable forward step was taken when it was announced that henceforth deserving juniors and seniors could be given continued scholarship aid instead of having to go ahead on the basis of loans.

The energy and insight of Dean Carman led to the establishment of two special scholarship programs, called by Deans Chamberlain and McKnight in their joint report for 1951 "precedents in the field of college education." Succinctly described in this report, the programs deserve to be detailed in full.

Both . . . are the direct outgrowth of Dean Carman's long-standing interest in the problems of labor and his distinguished record as a labor mediator. After much study and consultation agreement was reached with the Joint Industry Board of the Electrical Industry for the establishment annually for the sons of union members of two scholarships in electrical engineering. Each scholarship covers five years—three in Columbia College followed by two in the School of Engineering—and leads to the degrees of A.B. and B.S. in Engineering. A sixth year leading to an M.S. is also available where the student's record merits it. The first Joint Industry Board scholars were admitted in September, 1949. . . . Perhaps the most eloquent testimonial to the whole management-labor scholarship idea was the recent agreement reached between the union, Local 3, IBEW, and the employers of the electrical industry whereby each firm doing a million dollars worth of business a year will establish an additional scholarship. When this program is in full operation, ninety-six scholarships will be in force.

The second labor-sponsored scholarship program was introduced in 1950

⁶⁰ Annual Report of the Dean, 1924, p. 59.

⁶¹ *A College Program in Action*, p. 84.

⁶² "The Development of Leadership," p. 11.

when Local 32B, Building Service Employees International Union, established four four-year scholarships to be awarded annually (in Columbia College and Barnard College) to sons and daughters of union members. . . . When the program is in full operation the union will be maintaining sixteen scholarship students at Columbia.⁶³

The six and one-half years of the Carman administration were a period of stress if not of storm. Carman faced problems of war and problems of peace. He had to coordinate the workings of a complex machine and to champion educational ideals when shortsighted aims were in the ascendant. During a period of record-breaking College registration he had to cope with the problems of insufficient and inexperienced personnel. In curricular matters he took a remarkably direct, though never aggressive, interest. His personal support facilitated significant developments in Contemporary Civilization A and B, enrichment of the basic Hygiene course, and planning of the general science sequence. As guiding spirit of the College Development Program, with its objectives of a more adequate physical plant, greater scholarship opportunities, and endowed professorships, he generated enthusiasm in a large corps of volunteers. The impressiveness of this six-and-one-half-year administration is explained by Professor Dwight C. Miner as stemming from Carman's "constant attention to the final objectives of a liberal arts course, his ability to convince alumni and outsiders of the advantages of the Columbia College approach to these objectives, and . . . his success in fostering among his staff a high regard for the twin virtues of departmental initiative and interdepartmental cooperation."⁶⁴

When Dean Chamberlain took office in 1950 a new period of stress had already begun. Military service was making demands on the student body. Uncertainty and inflation were threatening the endurance of teachers and students alike. Under such circumstances a dean's job is as thankless as it is difficult. He must not only reiterate principles of collegiate education; he must see that finances keep pace with inescapable demands. He must cooperate with and yet be a thorn in the side of the alumni. He must not only listen patiently to the aspirations or woes of the faculty, but he must deliver the goods—when conditions make delivery a superhuman task. What, after all, is the function of a dean? The Report of the Committee on College Plans had given the answer wittily but definitively: "It is to be a good dean. And since all that we ask of him is human perfection, we can take it for granted that it is much less important

⁶³ Annual Report of the Dean, 1951, pp. 22-23.

⁶⁴ "Dean Carman," in *The 1950 Columbian*, p. 17.

to prescribe his authority and his prerogatives than to make the most of his mental and temperamental traits." ⁶⁵

The first few years of Chamberlain's administration indicated two things: that he was perpetuating the approach of Hawkes and Carman and pursuing the ideal of rational flexibility; and that he was developing a perspective of his own both on the nature of the College tradition and its needs for the future. The aims of the College in regard to the student he interpreted as fourfold:

First, the student must be brought into first-hand contact with the major intellectual ideas that have reflected and helped to shape the course of human events from antiquity to the present. . . . Second, [he] must have a broad acquaintance with the rest of the world so that he will no longer make the mistake of attempting to judge, evaluate and estimate people, conditions and events across the world on the basis of that very small segment of the earth's surface with which he personally has already come in contact. . . . Third, he must learn to understand people, how they act and why they act that way. . . . He must understand his own motivations, his own strengths and weaknesses as an individual. . . . Finally, he must master at least a minimum facility in the art of communication . . . the art of communicating his knowledge, his thoughts, and his ideas to others.⁶⁶

The spirit of this statement is that which might have been expressed in 1919; the version unmistakably belongs to the fifties.

CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION: THE ROOTS AND TRAITS OF THE PRESENT

Thus far we have tried to offer a long view of the College since 1919, explaining the characteristics and forces that have entered into its being. It is time now to investigate some of these, historically and theoretically, in greater detail. Since the being of a college centers in the process of instruction, it is best to do this first by scrutinizing the pioneer courses that have become almost synonymous with Columbia and then by defining the rationale of the College's educational policy. We begin, naturally, with Contemporary Civilization.

The instructors of C.C. in its first year were Wallace E. Caldwell, Austin P. Evans, Benjamin B. Kendrick, William T. Morgan, and Parker T. Moon, all of the History department; John J. Coss, Adam L. Jones, Irwin Edman, Horace L. Friess, Roberts B. Owen, and Herbert W. Schneider, all of the Philosophy department; Robert L. Hale of the Economics department; and Elmer D. Graper of the Government depart-

⁶⁵ *A College Program in Action*, p. 48.

⁶⁶ Foreword to "The Development of Leadership," pp. 2-3.

ment. Jones, Coss, and Kendrick were of professorial rank; the others were junior officers of various levels, the youngest (Friess) only nineteen years old. The second year brought to the classroom Harry Carman, John H. Randall, Jr. (Philosophy), Sterling P. Lamprecht (Philosophy), Thomas Munro (Philosophy), Robert D. Leigh (Government), and Frederick C. Mills (Economics). The majority of these men, and many more after them, taught C.C. for years or returned to it periodically, and they left a notable stamp on the College tradition. After the second year came Rexford G. Tugwell, Ben D. Wood, William E. Weld, John Storck, Edwin A. Burtt, A. Gordon Dewey, Roy F. Nichols, David L. Dodd, Irving W. Raymond, Raymond C. Atkinson, Daniel M. Fisk, Charles A. Gulick, Jr., James Gutmann, E. B. Hewes, H. B. Howe, John E. McGee, H. K. Chadwick, Joseph D. McGoldrick, Thomas C. Blaisdell, Frederick E. Croxton, Harry D. Gideonse, Peter Odegard, Horace Taylor, J. Bartlet Brebner—but it is necessary to stop with 1926.

The first description of the course in the 1919-20 College Announcement—this one really tried to do what it said it would—read:

The aim of the course is to inform the student of the more outstanding and influential factors of his physical and social *environment*. The chief features of the intellectual, economic, and political life of today are treated and considered in their *dependence on and difference from the past*. The great events of the last century in the history of the countries now more closely linked in international relations are reviewed, and the *insistent problems*, internal and international, which they are now facing are given detailed consideration. By thus giving the student, early in his college course, objective material on which to *base his own judgment*, it is thought he will be aided in an *intelligent participation* in the civilization of his own day. [Italics added.]

The second year the course was given, the last sentence of this description was amended to read:

To give the student early in his college course objective material on which to base his own *farther studies* and his own judgment will, it is believed, aid him greatly in enabling him to *understand* the civilization of his own day and to *participate effectively* in it. [Italics added.]

C.C. has not deified its ancestry or hindered itself by misguided notions of loyalty. Its conception, for example, of what type of “insistent problems” it should deal with has been considerably modified. But the central or guiding method of the course is deemed as valid now as in the beginning, and the purpose of our italicizing certain key words and phrases is to call attention to aims which remain as fundamental in the present ver-

sion of C.C. as in the original. The rationale of C.C., then and now, might be restated in this way: There are certain fundamental problems and materials and ideas which, in the present generation of man, are *insistent*, compelling; they cannot be dissociated from the past, in which they have their roots—from other issues which are *persistent*; and since the student, like every other individual human, exists not as a discrete atom but in a highly complex *environment*, it is important for him to discern and absorb such materials—first, because they are indispensable in *further study*, and second, because they are means to *reflection* and *action* in *society*.

In later years C.C. would begin to take the form that permitted indefinitely greater refinement, though here and there in its history there have been inferior embodiments of that form. The first year would deal primarily (but not exclusively) with the *making* of the present; the second year would deal primarily (again, not exclusively) with the *character* of the present. Throughout, "Contemporary Civilization" has had to be qualified by the phrase "in the West"; early in the twenties this became explicit. Such a limitation was made, not from dim awareness of the Orient—though Orient-consciousness is perforce greater now than it was after World War I—nor from perversity and false cultural pride, but because Western society is the society of Western students, and because the number of available men versed in Eastern culture has always been lamentably small.

From the beginning C.C. has based itself largely on materials written or edited by members of the staff: a carefully wrought educational venture needs specially devised instruments. The first of the books it used was Irwin Edman's *Human Traits and their Social Significance*, prepared by him on the request of his colleagues. In those days, when you were requested to do a piece for C.C. you found yourself doing it; you couldn't resist, and anyhow, you had always wanted to do something like it—that's why you were collaborating in a new enterprise. The next two books, likewise, were written at least partly through the stimulation of the course's needs. First came John Storck's *Man and Civilization*, which both reflected and influenced a growing tendency of C.C. to delve farther into the past in quest of the meaning of the present. Then, in the middle twenties (and previously used in mimeographed form) came John H. Randall's *The Making of the Modern Mind*, a book which remains a powerful influence in American higher education and which has always played a role in C.C. At all times in the history of the course articles have been written or planned. Their authors have been present

and former teachers or other university scholars conversant with the aims of the program. The number of those who have written or edited for C.C. is great, and the most remarkable thing about all this writing and editing is the spirit in which it has been done. It is impossible to recall anyone who contributed in a grudging or complaining way, despite the drain on personal time or (for the most part) the likelihood of anonymity in the product.

For years Dean Hawkes would carelessly refer to C.C. as a "survey" course. When he discovered, in the thirties, that this term had come to carry a certain opprobrium, he said, with a truly righteous indignation: "The courses [C.C. and Humanities] to which I am referring, however, serve three important functions: orientation, co-ordination, and thorough preparation for future scholarly work. The critics of this kind of course focus their criticism on the first of these characteristics, forgetting the important aspects of the second and third."⁶⁷ Since the very purpose of C.C. has been to cut across conventional academic "fields," it has always been the antithesis of a "survey" course as that term is currently used. It has rigorously eschewed the piecing together of snatches or "highlights" from different subject matters and has sought instead to build and implement an independent, unified structure designed to attain certain definite objectives. But Hawkes, as a mathematician, knew that what mattered was not the term one used but the way one used it and the things it stood for. The problem of educational usage is perennial—if one can call it a problem. Some people get sick and tired of using terms like "integration," "general education," and "orientation." They have this much justice on their side, that no course can serve an important function simply by labeling itself with grandiose names. The crux of the matter will always involve these questions: What kind of course *is* it? What is its content? What are its purposes? How is it taught? What evidence is there that it has succeeded or promises to succeed?

Anyone who has heard of C.C. knows that its organization implicitly revolves about the answers which the past and the present give or act out for three "guiding questions": How have men made a living? How have they lived together? How have they interpreted the world they have lived in? These questions can, of course, be rendered in many different ways. For example: How have men used the goods of the world? How have they used one another? How have they explained themselves and the world in which they find themselves? Ordinarily,

⁶⁷ "The Evolution of the Arts College," in *Columbia College Education: The Plan of the First Two Years* (privately circulated, n.d., c.1939), p. 4.

these questions signify issues that are called, respectively, economic, political, and philosophical. Ordinarily, too, there would be no reason why we could not say that C.C. has dealt with economic, political, and philosophical questions past and present. But the use of these labels carries more dangers than advantages. First, it seems to suggest that C.C. has dealt *only* with ideas and trends in these categories, as though psychological, anthropological, or theological notions were excluded or subordinated. Second, it seems to suggest that "economic" questions can have no political or philosophical dimension, or that "philosophical" questions can reflect no political or economic issues. Third, it seems to suggest that C.C. consists of three or four or ten parts, each of which contains the materials of one "social science."

Now so far as the theory and practice of C.C. is concerned, each of these "suggestions" is false. To think in terms of the three foregoing types of questions is better and deeper than to think only in terms of conventional academic labels. "How have men lived together?" never has been and cannot be simply a "political" question, any more than politics or any other discipline can be completely autonomous and exclusive. If there is one thing that C.C. develops in its students and in its instructors, it is the realization that human affairs (like natural events) are far more complex than they seem; that human thought and action defy strict compartmentalization; that the theoretical disciplines overlap and interpenetrate; and that the solution of problems is retarded by preconceived notions of what constitutes the relevant data. For the student who is a potential specialist, this is not only a safeguard or corrective against unimaginative and insular scholarship but a stimulus to humility and quest. For the general student, it is the basis of the habit of critical thinking and of the sense of interconnectedness in human issues.

Here we can see the value of the historical approach in the freshman year. The context of human history does not consist of "economic" or "religious" situations; it consists of situations, and these situations are circumscribed by us, for the sake of categorization, brevity, or perspective, as "economic" and "religious." The historical approach does not merely *name* problems and ideas; it *reveals* them, and in their urgency. Many colleges experimenting with foundational courses feel it necessary to start, in the first year, with a series of questions on the contemporary world, the "world around us." We must start, they reason, with the "familiar," the "accessible" world. They then feel that they can proceed to a consideration of the past, since they now possess a basis and a framework for purposes of comparison. Should the past be interpreted in the

light of the present, or the present in the light of the past? Both procedures, of course, are necessary and in fact inseparable. But the pertinent educational questions become, rather: Is the "present" so available as popular dogma supposes it to be? Is the present necessarily more intelligible to the student than the past?

The Columbia College experience testifies to each of these two questions with a vigorous "no." It has found that journalistic simplifications and excessive temporal closeness to the scene make critical understanding of the present virtually impossible. It is the present, the trends of contemporary society, that need the benefit of clarifying perspective. The *gross* currents of the present the student already possesses when he first turns, as he does today in C.C., to an examination of the medieval heritage. In first being guided to the historical framework of the present, he has the detachment necessary for objectivity and receptivity. It is, of course, as difficult for him to identify with the past as it is for him to detach himself from the present. But to attempt the former is a greater initial challenge to his imagination. When he begins the second year of C.C. he has not only gained sufficient scientific detachment for the more analytical study that is to deal with contemporary society, but he can be both more critical and more constructive than he would otherwise be, because he is less gullible and more historical-minded. Professor Randall once put the matter succinctly:

For under-classmen, perhaps the easiest way to treat subjects liberally is to teach them historically. . . . History when liberally conceived [as Santayana says] has the function either of politics or of poetry. It is political, in bringing the past to a focus upon our problems, in illuminating the choices which it is ours to make, in making clear why we must face them, and in helping us to understand the materials with which we must work. History best performs its function as politics when it is functioning as poetry, as a revelation of man—of what human nature has been and has become. . . . For man and his life is fundamentally historical in character: human nature is an historical nature, temporal and cumulative.⁶⁸

And in the same way that we can pursue the historical approach liberally, we can pursue the philosophical. As our framework is historical, our technique is philosophical—that is, as Randall puts it, pursued "in a spirit critically aware of . . . assumptions and methods."⁶⁹

The danger of construing a foundational course as a group of introduc-

⁶⁸ John H. Randall, Jr., "Which Are the Liberating Arts?" *American Scholar*, XIII (1944), 147-48.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

tions to departmental subject matters is not only subtle but always close at hand. A course like C.C. is not a vehicle of departments. It is intended as one of the bases for the further study of *any* subject matter and is held superior, on both intellectual and educational grounds, to unrelated elementary courses of a formal type. Now when C.C. was introduced in 1919, the History and Philosophy requirements were removed from the curriculum. This created in certain minds an impression which persisted and even flourished with time, that C.C. (later, C.C. A) was, in content, an equivalent (superior in method, to be sure, but still an equivalent) of the two departmental courses originally prescribed.

The founders of C.C. had seen the matter very differently. In 1922 Dean Hawkes said specifically: "The course is not primarily a channel through which a department may present an introduction to the learning which it regards as its own."⁷⁰ The course was not to be an instrument of departmental offerings. On the contrary, departmental offerings were to be modified accordingly as the course was developed and perfected. The superstructure was to be based on the foundation. Departmental courses were not to assume in the student who elected them an equipment of technical jargon. They were rather to assume greater breadth and articulateness on his part; they were to take for granted a higher substantive level on which to found their more technical procedures.

When the sophomore half of C.C. was introduced in 1929 it was intended as an enlargement of the scope of work that had already been pursued with success in a one-year framework. C.C. B did not replace another requirement. It was an extension of the prescribed Lower College curriculum. But academic objectives can rarely be formulated with precision, and perhaps by their very nature can rarely be interpreted with unanimity. When the actual content of C.C. B was worked out, it dealt with "contemporary economic and political problems in the United States." The reasoning behind this, though never fully expressed, appears to have been along the following lines. The departments whose personnel share the heaviest responsibility for C.C. are History, Philosophy, Economics, and Government. C.C. A originally replaced requirements in History and Philosophy, and meets the needs of these areas. C.C. B ought, therefore, to meet the needs of Economics and Government. And since, further, C.C. A has concentrated more heavily on the European scene than on the American, C.C. B ought to concentrate mainly on the United States. In 1939 the content and method of C.C. B were thus described in an article by Professors Carman and Taylor:

⁷⁰ Annual Report of the Dean, 1922, p. 8.

Although the materials of the second year of the course fall traditionally within the special provinces of economics and government, the course does not attempt to teach the conventional concepts of economic and political theory. . . . The method actually employed is that of analytical description of institutional affairs in their own terms and in terms which seem to present the most fruitful or provocative set of relationships among the various institutions which are studied.⁷¹

In the thirties it became evident that it was in C.C. B that "the greatest danger of lack of unity" ⁷² lay. It was not enough to raise "problems" in C.C. B. To the student the selection of problems must not seem arbitrary, and the aggregate of problems must add up to some edifice. During the late thirties an attempt was made to supply a framework for C.C. B by grouping all problems around one generic problem. This was to be the principle of unity in the second year, as the historical matrix was in the first. It is not surprising to find that in the latter stages of the depression the guiding problem was appropriately determined. According to Professors Carman and Taylor, in 1939: "The work of the entire second year of the course is centered around the problem of economic security." ⁷³ In addition, since 1930 the student had been required to take several field trips. The field trip project had formed the content of an elective course in the Department of Economics, first offered in 1927 and called Economic Institutions in Operation. When the trips were transferred in 1930 to the newly formed C.C. B course, where they were somewhat broadened in scope, the economics elective was no longer offered.

In 1941 an important new step was taken in C.C. A. Source readings were introduced as the central avenue by which students were to examine "the development of Western institutions and social ideas." Textbook chapters and specially written articles were not eliminated, but their role and number were diminished. Such articles would henceforth focus more on historical circumstances and less on the exposition and presentation of ideas and opposing points of view. The ideas and the struggles would now be encountered by the students in the words of the very person or document that contributed to them or mirrored them. In his very first day in the classroom the freshman would be immersed in the same materials on which historians relied to write the histories he had read. His class discussions were no longer to be based on skillfully prepared versions of, say, the conflict between canon law and capitalist influences:

⁷¹ Harry J. Carman and Horace Taylor, "The Two Year Course in Contemporary Civilization," in *Columbia College Education*, p. 14.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

he would confront St. Thomas Aquinas wrestling with the issues of the conflict. To his equipment for interpreting and evaluating, a new dimension was added. In making this new opportunity possible for the Columbia student, the entire C.C. staff, regardless of which half the individual members happened then to be teaching, pooled its scholarly resources both toward the selection of historical readings and toward the writing of accompanying manuals.

The systematic introduction of source readings in C.C. A was the direct result of the College's discovery that in Humanities A, which had recently been inaugurated (1937), freshmen could grapple successfully with difficult masterpieces of world literature. The Humanities course, as Hawkes put it, "has opened our eyes to the fact that college freshmen do not need to be fed predigested food."⁷⁴ The context in which the original historical materials are read, and the way in which they function, are not the same in C.C. as in Humanities. In C.C. they are read as sources, as data; in Humanities they are read as self-sufficient creations, as ends in themselves. This difference is fundamental, and we shall return to it in a fuller way in the next section. Here it is important to see that the various parts of the foundational curriculum at Columbia have influenced each other. The College's contributions to liberal study had been made by 1920. They were three: the collaborative and interdepartmental approach, the method of classroom discussion for the freshman (both brought by C.C.), and the direct study of original works (brought by General Honors). By 1937 all three, through the dictate of long experience, had penetrated to the freshman year. In 1941 they permeated the freshman year far more fully; in 1947 (with the unqualified prescription of Humanities B) they permeated the sophomore year almost as fully; and in 1950 and 1951, when (as we shall see in a moment) C.C. B also adopted the "source reading" method, they became as central in the sophomore year as in the freshman.

So effective was the use of the source readings in C.C. A that in 1946 a major revision took place, designed to improve the readings, to stabilize their role, and to clarify the presentation of the trends and ideas which they helped to define. The readings had added enormously to the depth and excitement of study, but they had complicated the problem of coherency in the course structure. In the years since 1941 they had been put to the classroom test. Now (1946) each document assigned must fulfill certain criteria or be replaced: it must be challenging, historically important or representative, unmistakably pertinent to a given phase of the

⁷⁴ Annual Report of the Dean, 1941, p. 7.

study, intelligible, and so edited as not to mislead. It must be a reasonably full selection, not a tiny excerpt. The 1941 source readings and background manuals had been published in separate fascicles, each corresponding to a topical subdivision of the course. In 1946 the source readings, greatly revised and expanded, appeared in two volumes under the title *Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West*. And in 1948, amplification and revision of the material in the manuals produced two volumes of background readings entitled *Chapters in Western Civilization*. These materials soon came to be used by almost two hundred colleges. In a 1954 edition of the four volumes, skillful modifications were made in the source book, and *Chapters* was greatly augmented.

Between 1940 and 1950 the revisions made in C.C. B were more numerous but less definitive than those made in C.C. A. The continuity between A and B had never been great enough for anyone's satisfaction. After the adoption of source readings in A, there came to be a positive discontinuity. More serious than this was the fact that B did not sustain the intellectual excitement and promise of A. Freshmen who had been aroused by the reading and discussion of Aquinas and Luther, of Hobbes and Locke, of Adam Smith and Karl Marx, proceeded in their sophomore year to predominantly descriptive investigation of the money and credit system, of consumer cooperation, or of international economic relations. The B year not only lacked continuity with the A, but it lacked conceptual challenge to Lower College students and breadth and diversity in its materials. Its career since 1929 had made this result inevitable. It had based itself on the organization of problems relating to one or two subject matters rather than on an interdisciplinary structure. Year after year sophomores volunteered the opinion, in large numbers, that the second year of C.C. was an anticlimax; and year after year the senior class voted that, as C.C. A had been one of their outstanding experiences, C.C. B had been one of their dullest.

Late in the forties, an attempt was made to enrich the content of C.C. B. Instead of focusing almost exclusively on economic institutions, it introduced also "dioramas" of American history, descriptive material on American governmental processes, and discussion of international political affairs. But this only exacerbated the situation. The content of the course had become diversified, but it now lacked internal cohesion as well as continuity with A. Dean Carman noted conservatively:

Although there is general agreement that the first year of the course in Contemporary Civilization is excellent in content and organization, the opinion widely prevails on the part of both students and staff that there is ample room

for improvement in the second year of the course. . . . Its critics contend that it is in reality three short courses—one in history, one in economics, and one in government—without a strong unifying or connecting thread.⁷⁵

Important curricular changes of any kind require a crystallization of common opinion. During the forties C.C. had drifted into a kind of dual undertaking, the practice of A and the practice of B. The war did not help matters. By multiplying the strains and the duties of the academic vocation, it contributed to an undesirable fixity in the C.C. staff. Instructors stayed put, continuing merely to teach whichever half of the course they were teaching. There was too little if any rotation between A and B. Revisions in A and B were separate, like the two halves of the course. Everyone professed the need for unity, but there was no unity except in name. The deadlock had to be broken, and it was not until 1949 that the necessary predominance of opinion was developed. The basic decision was to build a sophomore half of C.C. which would analyze the foundations of contemporary society and which would take for granted and actually put to use the historical foundation acquired by the student in the freshman half. Such a course would organize a body of material drawn from any or all relevant domains, including any or all of the social sciences. It would draw upon twentieth century "sources"—writers and documents representative of the age. Purely descriptive or informational materials, on which C.C. B had formerly relied to such a great extent, would be used only instrumentally and kept down to a minimum. In 1951 a sequential four-term course emerged. And in the succeeding years philosophers, economists, historians, and political scientists rotated regularly between A and B, with obvious pedagogical advantages.

Both halves of C.C. now made use of materials from the same variety of areas, though the sophomore half, in so far as it limited itself to the present age, necessarily made heavier use of the anthropological, sociological, and psychological interpretations characteristic of the day. Whereas A dealt with themes governing broad spans of time and place, B was able to bring these and others to sharper focus by concentrating on a more limited period. B could now begin by presupposing a body of materials. It could draw upon historical parallels to issues of the present day and could try to ascertain the cumulative effects of present-day thinking in the social sciences. The student was now able, after his work on the Renaissance and Reformation, the development of modern science, the conflict between absolutism and constitutionalism, or the emergence

⁷⁵ Annual Report of the Dean, 1948, p. 12.

of individualism, liberalism, nationalism, and industrialism, to pass to the analytical study of the relation between human nature and culture, of personal security and social institutions, of the divisive and unifying factors in modern society, of freedom and authority, of the contemporary sense of crisis, and of the constructive political, economic, and moral proposals of the age. After reading, in the first year, such spokesmen of their time (and of all time) as St. Augustine, Machiavelli, Calvin, Galileo, Harrington, Rousseau, Burke, Malthus, Darwin, Mill, or Nietzsche, he could sustain his pace in the second year with the help of men like Freud, Dewey, Weber, Durkheim, Veblen, Hobhouse, Laski, Keynes, Mannheim, or Whitehead. By the beginning of 1952 the student of C.C. B had in his possession two volumes of readings on *Man in Contemporary Society*. Early in 1954 these volumes were being prepared for formal publication, on a par with the A readings.

C.C. does not bend to the casual whims of its students; it does not "put on a show" for their titillation. Neither does it ignore student opinion on the supposed ground that students cannot judge what is good for them. Some students are better judges than others, and among the better ones there are some things that they are in a position to judge and others that they are not. However intelligent a boy may be, he is in no position, when he first enters college, to determine a curriculum for himself. But at the close of his first year of study, the study itself may have provided him with some of the tools for meaningful comment if not for large-scale appraisal. Columbia College does not regard isolated student responses pro or con as significant. What it does value highly is reasoned student opinion, independently formed criticisms that can withstand analysis. One source of student response is the sophomore report, already mentioned.⁷⁶ But another, unique to C.C., is the annual C.C. dinner.

In the spring semester of the year each of the sections in A and each in B elects a class delegate to the annual dinner, attended by the staff as well as the student representatives. Separate dinners for A and B (each attended by about twenty-five delegates) are held on successive evenings. The delegate has previously been given the opportunity of conferring with his class, in the deliberate absence of the instructor. At the dinner he conveys the views of his class on whatever phases of the course they have instructed him about—the readings, the techniques of discussion, the examinations, the course organization, the quarterly papers. He is encouraged, as his constituents have been earlier, to speak frankly and to make suggestions, but, above all, to support both praise and blame with reasons.

⁷⁶ See p. 66.

At these gatherings the staff contents itself with a relatively passive role—an interrogation or an explanation here and there. The evening's discussion ordinarily ends by concentrating on those issues that have emerged as the most insistent. In the next day's class hour the delegate is given time to report back to the students.

These dinners are not only media of communication but means by which students help to mold the C.C. tradition. Many of the revisions in the history of the course reflect the cumulative weight of student opinion supplemented by staff interpretation. Many years ago the larger educational implications of the C.C. gatherings were well defined by Dean Hawkes:

With all the machinery for guidance, advice, and direction that is being set up in our colleges nowadays, one must be careful lest one unconsciously get into a state of mind that assumes that students are primarily to be guided, advised, and directed. As a matter of fact, they are our junior partners in the educational project. . . . It is important that the opportunity for the flow of advice should not all be in one direction. They may lack experience, but they do not lack intelligence, or freshness of point of view, or willingness to help when they see the chance. One of the most helpful illustrations of this fact is found in [the annual Contemporary Civilization conferences].⁷⁷

Contemporary Civilization has been successfully interdepartmental because, in a sense, it has also been supradepartmental and nondepartmental. The teachers of C.C. are selected on the basis of their breadth of interest. Though they come from departments they are not named in order to help uphold a departmental end. Likewise, the executive officers of the C.C. staff from 1919 to 1954, though they happen collectively to have come from three of the four principal collaborating fields, were chosen primarily on the basis of their familiarity with the enterprise: John J. Coss (Philosophy), Harry J. Carman (History), Horace Taylor (Economics), Dwight C. Miner (History), and Justus Buchler (Philosophy). The scope of departmental collaboration has become wider in recent years. Sociology and Anthropology, previously sporadic participants, are now represented by a small but constant number of instructors. But while an instructor of C.C. grinds no departmental axe, neither does he have to become characterless and pallid in his approach. It used to be said that a man was doing a good job in C.C. if his students did not know which department he belonged to. But students not only have eyes with which to read a college catalogue; they have minds with which to detect an academic idiom. The skillful teacher of C.C. utilizes his native discipline; he

⁷⁷ *Five College Plans*, p. 18.

does not try to erase it. He needs to undertake an enormous amount of preparation. But this is part of his reward. No one who has taught the course has failed to profit intellectually and to find his own special inquiries enriched.

It has been "objected," and perhaps it always will be, that no instructor can ever "know enough" to teach C.C. But this assumes that oral teaching is primarily the transmission of information. In C.C. and Humanities teaching is regarded as continuous with learning. A College proverb has it that a course from which the teacher cannot learn anything is not worth anything. It is impossible for a teacher not to profit from C.C., no matter how many times he teaches it. For C.C. is itself a discipline and not merely a course. It receives from the more traditionally defined subject matters and gives to them in return. (One may generalize that the interdisciplinary movement in American higher education of the recent past has been as much a producer of integrative trends in the social sciences as it has been their product.) The standing Editorial Committee of C.C., and the staff as a whole, are involved, by the nature of the program, in continuous reflection and research. So far as C.C. is concerned, the customary distinction between teaching and scholarship is difficult to apply.

Traditionalists who express fear lest a "general" course like C.C. be "superficial" flatter themselves. The typical "introduction to —" course is scarcely a model of thoroughness. No textbook is likely to be as thorough as a structure which employs the very sources on which textbooks are based. *Any* type of course whatever can be liable to the vice of superficiality or can acquire the merit of thoroughness. For the property of thoroughness belongs to a method, an organization, an art of selection and presentation—not to a subject matter or a level of generality. The teacher of C.C. meeting his students on the first day of the semester is likely to clarify for them what the course hopes to do and what it cannot hope to do, how its materials may be expected to function and how they may best be employed. Sooner or later he will exhibit the importance of generalization, at the same time that he questions ruthlessly all generalizations which the discussion brings forth. He will aim to arouse in his students the historical sense; to develop in them some power of critical discrimination; to nourish a sense of complexity. He will *not* aim at completeness or exhaustiveness. He will try to keep his discussions constructive, yet tentative; imaginative, yet free of gratuitous speculation. Above all, and with the greatest thoroughness possible, he will try to inculcate the desire to find out more.

FROM HONORS TO HUMANITIES: ASSIMILATION OF THE HUMAN PRODUCT

When John Erskine first proposed his Great Books course during World War I, it was not out of the desire for novelty or the urge to inject some oddity into the academic scene. Erskine himself was hardly a revolutionary or an eccentric personality. He was wholly adjusted to an academic tradition which he admired. His teachers inspired him and he sought to emulate them. His plan arose from reflection on a situation in itself very simple, yet very perplexing. On the one hand, the academic men of his generation would bemoan the literary ignorance of the young. But on the other hand, these very men had devised no academic means by which the young could be made less ignorant. The student might take a course in English literature; he might take a course in French literature as well. But he could not get very far this way. For in order to enlarge his literary experience under existing college conditions he must master too many languages. In other words, even if he possessed linguistic capacity, he must corrupt the order and economy of his college direction in order to gain certain humane possessions. Worse: what existing courses in college departments would enable him to read the Bible, Homer, or Dante? Must he, in order to widen his horizon, become a professional orientalist, classicist, and medievalist all rolled into one? Or must he hopefully leave these works to the limbo of his spare time, and at that be unable to discuss them with anyone else?

Erskine must have realized that the demands to be made on the postwar student by his society would be great enough to necessitate less wasteful collegiate techniques than those available. He was enough of a heretic to see the emptiness of the objection that a course on Great Books was invalid because it fitted into no conventional academic framework. But his heresy was closer to the academic spirit than was the rigorous formalism which opposed him. Opposition there was. And it centered around one theme: how could students acquire "real understanding" of so many works read in so short a time and usually in a language other than that in which they were written? The same questions are raised today, even after the demonstrably salutary effect of the whole educational tradition based on Erskine's insights. But it was as easy for Erskine to demolish the opposition then as it is for us now, and it is as difficult for us to expect unanimity now as it was for him then.

The doubters were not speaking erroneously so much as irrelevantly. No one, least of all Erskine, proposed to pack into students' heads complete scholarly research about great works. The irrelevancies of the

doubters stemmed from a narrow view of the educational process. Is study the conquest of technical obstacles? Must great works be awesome idols from which men either shrink away or to which they dedicate their lives? Erskine suggested, with ingenuous persuasiveness, that such works could be enjoyed; that indeed they existed primarily to be enjoyed; that they were storehouses of rich experience that was meant to be shared. "I reminded my colleagues," he writes, "that the Iliad and most other epics were shorter than the average novel, and many of our students read at least one popular novel every seven days . . . then engage in a hot discussion about it. Why not treat the Iliad, the Odyssey, and other masterpieces as though they were recent publications, calling for immediate investigation and discussion?"⁷⁸ Like any other book, a great book has to be read for the first time. How incredible that anyone should think this means they cannot be read, studied, or technically analyzed thereafter! Erskine was proposing that college juniors and seniors be given the opportunity of making the start, with the help of men who could bring their own experience and scholarship to bear. "How often was I told by angry colleagues that a great book couldn't be read in a week, not intelligently. And how often have I retorted, with my own degree of heat, that when the great books were first published, they were popular, which was the first step toward their permanent fame, and the public who first liked them read them quickly, perhaps overnight, without waiting to hear scholarly lectures about them."⁷⁹

In his eagerness to humanize education, Erskine perhaps understated the merits of his case. He seemed to give the impression that he welcomed popularization in the College; and in vindicating the educational role of excitement and vivacity, he made it seem as though he was content to leave scholarship in the hands of the opposition. He represents himself as having contended, for instance, that "the audience who thronged the ancient theatre to enjoy a work by Aeschylus or Sophocles were not classical scholars; they were merely the human beings for whom the play was written."⁸⁰ The Colloquium course of present-day Columbia College feels much less apologetic about the problem of how much scholarship it involves. Scholarship has many dimensions, and one kind of scholarship can be better accomplished by two instructors and fifteen students around a table than by the analyses of a philologist. When, however, Erskine dealt with the objection that to read a masterpiece in translation was not to read the same work at all, he was on truly happy ground.

⁷⁸ Erskine, *My Life as a Teacher*, p. 166.

⁷⁹ Erskine, *Memory of Certain Persons*, pp. 342-43.

⁸⁰ Erskine, *My Life as a Teacher*, p. 166.

At a smoker called by Dean Keppel he commiserated with his colleagues, who on their own principles had never "read" the Old Testament. For the "first-hand" privilege of the Old Testament was denied even to those who knew Hebrew. And none of his hearers had read the words of Christ; for of these words in the language that Christ spoke there was no extant text.

The faculty "couldn't agree on a definition" of "great book." Erskine was willing to concede that the metaphysics of the issue was controversial. He was content himself to identify as a great book "one that has meaning, and continues to have meaning, for a variety of people over a long period of time."⁸¹ Above all, he was anxious to apply Woodberry's conception of the inherent connection of literature and life to an educational medium not fully exploited by Woodberry—the small discussion group. Only in this medium could the fruits of the conception be reaped. The values of a work of art can ultimately be delivered only through the student's "own temperament," "sincerely and instinctively," and this means through the free exchange of responses. Erskine simply wanted to investigate the educational possibilities of the heritage that lay dormant so far as the vast majority of college students was concerned. He was saying that the human values of a great work of imagination could penetrate through translations, simply because such a work transcended its national or provincial circumstances. He thus struck a tremendous blow against the formalistic conception of literature and of art in general. Academically, he forced down departmental barriers in the humanities, as the founders of C.C. were forcing them down in the social sciences. Nor was it his intent to awe and overwhelm students by a parade of masterpieces. The very opposite was true. His conception of the arts was determined by his conception of the reflective animal. When George Santayana reviewed Erskine's book of four addresses, *The Moral Obligation to Be Intelligent* (1915), he singled out what seemed to him an admirable elasticity. "Here [in Erskine] we see another error of the past corrected—the notion that the aesthetic realm is absolute and sacrosanct and that there a man must reduce himself to an abstract sensorium, without intellect, conscience, or a right to be deafened, bored, or disgusted."⁸²

Looking back on the origin of his course in 1920, Erskine says: "From the beginning it was the young teachers who made the course possible."⁸³ They included Raymond Weaver, Mark Van Doren, Herbert W.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 168–69.

⁸² George Santayana, "Two Rational Moralists," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, XIII (1916), 291.

⁸³ Erskine, *Memory of Certain Persons*, p. 342.

Schneider, Mortimer Adler, Emery E. Neff, Arnold Whitridge, Rexford G. Tugwell, Henry Morton Robinson, J. Bartlet Brebner, Irwin Edman, and Clinton W. Keyes. The range of interests represented by these men is in itself highly pertinent to the understanding of the new liberal arts tradition in the College—it covered history, philosophy, economics, English and comparative literature, and Greek and Latin. On the teaching end the diversity of approach was the heart of the Great Books idea. Two men from different backgrounds and fields brought to the one discussion group an initial wealth of experience, as the students themselves did on a less disciplined level. Some on this early staff, and a good many who followed, taught Contemporary Civilization at the same time. Schneider and Edman, the philosophers, did this; Brebner, the historian, who taught C.C. later, also became the first executive officer of Colloquium; Tugwell, the economist, later taught C.C. B regularly; Van Doren, poet and critic, later became an outstanding influence in Humanities, as did his colleague Raymond Weaver. The College temper was transmitted by some members of this group—Neff, Edman, Schneider—to other parts of the University; by some—Tugwell, Adler, Whitridge—to other academic institutions; by some—Robinson and Van Doren—to a wider literary audience. To this day the College encourages participation by instructors in more than one of the basic courses (as a rule, successive rather than simultaneous participation) if their aptitudes and obligations permit it. To this day, too, there is always a large proportion of young men in the instructional staffs of the basic courses. Their likely spontaneity and open-mindedness is one of the safeguards against the danger of smugness. On the other hand, since such courses are admittedly among the most difficult to teach, they cannot possibly be regarded as the channels through which neophyte instructors are to gain experience. The younger man must make up in natural power what the older man has in equipment and breadth. A proper balance in the entire staff, and particularly in C.C. and Humanities, is as essential as a careful choice of individual teachers.

General Honors could not have been taught by a man who was convinced of the primacy of his own special interests, or who had a false sense of what was “practical” in college education. Nor could it have been taught by anyone who saw in the past and in its products cute antiquities which occasionally paved the way for the present. There is a story about Raymond Weaver that illustrates his disdain for the small and the myopic, but that suggests also the kind of perspective which distinguishes the teacher from the reporter. Sitting at a dinner party, Weaver

was crisply addressed by the fashionable young lady on his right. "Have you read *Gone with the Wind*?" she asked. "No," he said. "Well, you ought to," she said, "it's been out six months." "Have you read the *Divine Comedy*?" he replied. "No," she answered. "Well, you ought to, it's been out six hundred years."

When the Colloquium on Important Books was begun in 1932, under the administrative guidance of J. Bartlet Brebner, and with Lionel Trilling (English), Moses Hadas (Greek and Latin), Jacques Barzun (History), James Gutmann (Philosophy), H. T. Westbrook (Greek and Latin), and Robert L. Carey (Economics) as instructors, there was little fuss. As successor to the General Honors course, it continued with substantially the same technique. At first the number of discussion groups in each year was limited to two. The fifteen students in each group had to be of high standing and were selected by personal interview. Periodically the two classes were merged to hear lectures by invited scholars. Later, the lectures diminished in importance and were ultimately eliminated.

When the idea of acquainting students with great works of the past was extended downward and suggested as advisable for the freshman and sophomore years, a rumpus started anew. A proposal for a Humanities prescription to parallel C.C. was made to the Committee on Instruction by Irwin Edman in 1931. The Committee deputed Edman and Raymond Weaver to draw up some concrete suggestions. The principal spokesmen of those who distrusted the whole idea was Harrison Steeves, for many years English departmental representative in the College. He feared what had been feared years before when C.C. was about to be set up, that the material would be chaotic, the project "impossible to administer"; that accumulation of a competent staff was an insuperable problem; that at best the course would be perfunctory and excessively factual in character. Dean Hawkes, however, was extremely sympathetic to the idea. Under his chairmanship, the Committee on Instruction appointed a special committee to investigate thoroughly the entire problem of a two-year Humanities offering. With Edman as head, the committee comprised Henry K. Dick (English), Charles W. Everett (English), Jacques Barzun, and H. T. Westbrook. After several concentrated and lively months of discussion, the committee came up with a detailed two-year syllabus. The proposed assignments would cover works of literature, history, music, philosophy, and the visual arts. In each of the four terms books, paintings, and musical works would be dealt with in close juxtaposition. The course would be organized on a chronological basis, a cul-

tural epoch serving as the framework for a group of representative masterpieces read, heard, seen, and discussed.

But it developed, early in 1935, that both friend and foe of the program would be happier if its fate were considered together with a review of the curriculum as a whole. Whereupon the Dean, in what has come to be known as a keen bit of diplomacy, but in what was also an undoubtedly sincere choice, appointed Professor Steeves chairman of the Committee on the Review of the Curriculum.⁸⁴ In those of its recommendations which affected planning and preparation of the Humanities sequence, the Committee was aided by two subcommittees, one (early in 1936) headed by Mark Van Doren (English), the other (a few months later) by John H. Randall, Jr. (Philosophy). The members of the former subcommittee were Edman and Westbrook, Douglas Moore (Music), and Everard M. Upjohn (Fine Arts); of the latter, Steeves and Moore, W. B. Dinsmoor (Archaeology), Hermon W. Farwell (Physics), R. H. Fife (German), and Horatio Smith (French).

The coming of Humanities A meant, as we have noted earlier, the abandonment of the prescribed introduction to English literature. But just as C.C., when it entered the curriculum in 1919, was not to be regarded as only a superior analogue to the prescribed history and philosophy courses which were then abandoned, so Humanities was not to be regarded as the analogue of English. A course in which the student read, usually in their entirety, selected works of the Greek dramatists and historians, Plato and Aristotle, Lucretius, Vergil, St. Augustine, Dante, Rabelais, Montaigne, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Milton, Spinoza, Moliere, Swift, and Goethe could not really enter "in place of" any other course at all. The question was not, of course, whether one requirement "did" what another was supposed to do. It was whether the student should be grounded in a narrow or in a broad and humane conception of literature, and whether he should base his college studies on initial contact with ideas or on acquaintance with canons and forms. One year after Humanities A was introduced, Jacques Barzun wrote: "Prophets of doom had not been wanting; the Freshmen, we were told, would collapse under the heavy reading assignments; they would not only balk but bluff and would pass through the year exposed but unimpressed, or else they would voice the feelings of the outside world toward culture and 'wipe their feet on Milton.'" ⁸⁵

The surest way to defeat the growth and cripple the performance of students is to underestimate their capacities. The original staff of Hu-

⁸⁴ The personnel and recommendations of this Committee were noted on p. 74 ff.

⁸⁵ "The Humanities—Proper Study of Mankind," *English Journal*, XXVII (1938), 641.

manities A—Henry Dick, Irwin Edman, Charles Everett, James Gutmann, Joseph Wood Krutch, Otto Schinnerer, Mark Van Doren, Jacques Barzun, Moses Hadas, Simon Mitchneck, H. T. Westbrook, Burdette Kinne, J. G. C. Le Clercq, Frederick Rathert, W. B. Smith, and Lionel Trilling—taught the course because of positive faith in the capacities of students. The administrative heads of Humanities A between 1937 and 1954—Mark Van Doren, James Gutmann, and Donald M. Frame (French)—have reflected this important phase of the tradition. The students, from the outset, never verified the prediction of the prophets of doom. For them Humanities was an emancipation from the trivial. The educational assumptions of the College dictate that the student should begin with the important and not with the trivial; indeed, that the trivial has no place anywhere in a college. The entrance of the student to the College implies acceptance of a challenge, which the great majority of students welcome. Some influential persons think that, as they put it, students ought to master a few books thoroughly, not many books cursorily. But Humanities A is not dedicated to cursory reading. It is part of the student's first encounter with the many-sidedness of man, part of his introduction to the important. "Mastering a few books thoroughly" comes later—it presupposes an arduous passage. Humanities, like C.C., is a *thorough beginning*. The student's reading is not presumed to be ended with the freshman year. And if it should happen that after his emergence from the Lower College his reading *is* ended—that is, if he should happen to be, let us say, a very average pre-engineering student—he has surely been a gainer. We must remember the "three types of students."

To whatever type the student belongs, his experience in the two years of Humanities has brought him face to face with invention at its highest and deepest. He has superseded, as Professor Barzun put it years ago, the level of stock phrases, catchy epithets, and secondhanded descriptions; he has "fed his soul" upon great books, great music, and great pictures. His power of communication has been strengthened by his absorption of rich materials with which and about which to communicate. The business of the foundational curriculum at Columbia is "not so much to educate as to start self-education. Freshmen are not expected to get what they should out of Plato, but what they can. Who indeed shall say what any man must get out of Plato?"⁸⁶

Although the second year of Humanities presupposes the first, it is in a somewhat different sense from that in which the second year of Con-

⁸⁶ Jacques Barzun, "The Two Year Course in the Humanities: The First Year," in *Columbia College Education*, p. 27.

temporary Civilization presupposes the first. The C.C. sequence in its most recent development is more homogeneous in both content and method. Humanities B cannot assume, in A, initial contact with its proper subject matter. But from the student's experience with works of literature and philosophy it can expect a fund of ideas and attitudes, a basis for the eventual articulateness which it hopes to promote in his response to music and the visual arts. In the nature of the case—meaning, in the circumstances of our society—the student is inclined to be more passive in his approach to the nonliterary arts. In Humanities B the instructor inevitably plays a somewhat more active role. But it would be monstrous to think that, in order to be successful educationally, one part of a curricular sequence must adopt the techniques that have proved successful for another. College policy proved to be wise when it kept Humanities B for ten years in the status of an optional requirement. During these years the course was able to cultivate appropriately autonomous methods, by which it could not only do justice to the demands of its own materials, but augment most fully the entire Lower College program.

The evolution of Humanities B mirrors the evolution of the curriculum as a whole and is one of the many illustrations of intelligent flexibility. In the first year or two, when the course met twice weekly, alternate lectures were given on music and the visual arts. (This was the closest approximation to the syllabus recommended by the original Humanities committee. The juxtaposition of materials from literary and nonliterary arts had been deemed inadvisable for Humanities A because of its overdependency and potential overemphasis on the historical approach.) The lectures proved to be inadequate. The lecture itself as a communicative device did not fit the needs involved, and the process of alternation in subject and medium both forced a historical treatment and minimized analysis. In 1941 a different approach was tried. Music and Fine Arts were each assigned one semester, and each met three times a week. One of the meetings was a mass lecture and two were discussions in small groups. The last revision of the course in 1946 made it similar in procedure to Humanities A and to C.C. A and B. The weekly lecture was abandoned, instructors were given full responsibility, and unity within each half of the course was preserved through weekly staff meetings. As in the other foundational courses, the cumulative experience of the staff was continually being passed on to younger or newer members. Almost from the beginning, the Fine Arts half was under the administrative direction of Everard M. Upjohn; the Music half, under that of William J. Mitchell. Both in music and the visual arts the aim, as clarified by experi-

ence, has been to develop in the student the power of understanding expression in nonliterary media. As Professor Upjohn put it (in a personal memoir): "The first essential was to open the eyes of the students, to compel them to examine the buildings, paintings, and statues themselves, as they had examined the books in Humanities A." The aim has never been either to present a cursory history of an art form or to frame a philosophy of art.

The two years of Humanities have this in common, that they are concerned primarily with the human product as a product. And here they differ significantly from the approach of the Contemporary Civilization sequence. The novel, the philosophic structure, the temple, or the choral masterpiece are seen in Humanities as qualitative constructs, as unitary wholes bearing human value. Although their historical or analytical ramifications are by no means irrelevant, neither are these in the main focus of attention. In C.C., on the other hand, the reading is important primarily for its implications, whether conceptual or historical. It is for this reason that in C.C. the sources can function as selections. Men like Aquinas, Locke, Marx, or Freud are read, not as producers of individual systems, but in the context of their age, of history, and of contemporary viewpoints: the ideas they are called upon to express are in C.C. appropriated, criticized, appraised for their bearing on specific issues.

Ideally, the instructor in Humanities can help to fill out the broader context; the instructor in C.C. can help to portray the total individual product. But the respective purposes are different. The work read or heard or seen in Humanities should, as far as possible, be experienced whole and complete. The source in C.C. need only be substantial and intelligible; it need not be complete. In the one case the concern is with a human creation considered as a body of experience worth understanding and assimilating for what it is. In the other, the concern is with an utterance considered as a solution of, a reflection of, or a contribution to, something more pervasive than itself. Needless to say, Humanities and C.C. overlap—they are not bound by rules, and the argument is to be followed wherever it may lead. Each contributes greatly to the value of the other. But the difference of focus explains why Humanities largely concerns itself with masterpieces, whereas C.C. may concern itself no less with utterances which are mainly representative. A medieval fair grant or partnership agreement, a transaction by Jacob Fugger, a nineteenth-century parliamentary debate, a speech by Hitler are not "great works"; but they are illuminating. And for this reason, too, it is clear why C.C. needs to be revised far more frequently than Humanities. As the current

and the historical perspectives widen, as scientific results accumulate, the tools of understanding need to be altered.

In a sense, the Humanities and Colloquium courses are deliberately un-historical. They consider it a fair assumption that certain values, certain ideas, certain situations of men, though located in a time and a place, and though amplified in meaning by the peculiarities of that time and place, bind together all times and places. This is not to say that such values and ideas offer absolutes or immutable verities—some colleges think this is why the humanities ought to be studied. They are rather to be regarded as embodying experiences which are recurrent or inevitable; as awakening or clarifying universal emotions; as offering what is intrinsically worthy of contemplation; as forcing the translation of older standards into newer ones; as inspiring the senses and the intellect.

The student of Columbia College who has completed his Lower College work and who wishes to preserve visible continuity with the technique of Humanities may look to the junior and senior Colloquium. The word "colloquium" was suggested by Jacques Barzun when a committee of three (Gutmann, Weaver, Barzun) was formed in 1931 to consider a successor to the General Honors course. Professor Gutmann stated in 1937:

While gladly seeking to maintain the traditions of General Honors, [Colloquium has] felt free to depart from its precedents whenever this seemed desirable. Much was, of course, implied by the change of name and the elimination of the honorific aspects of the old title, and this change has apparently been an advantage. Students seem to be attached to the Colloquium because of their interest in the content and procedure of the course, without other motives suggested by a special honors degree and prestige.⁸⁷

Colloquium is the principal interdepartmental course of the Upper College, and it has set a standard for other advanced courses conducted on an interdepartmental basis. Its administrative heads between 1931 and 1954 were J. Bartlet Brebner, James Gutmann, Alan W. Brown (English), and Quentin Anderson (English). The two-year reading sequence covers an enormous range. Like the limitation of the size of the groups, the deliberate selection of students with differing interests and vocational aims is designed to stimulate inventiveness, as well as the "art of intellectual discourse."⁸⁸ Perhaps no other offering in the Upper College has

⁸⁷ James Gutmann, "The Columbia College Colloquium," *Columbia University Quarterly*, XXIX (1937), 52.

⁸⁸ Alan W. Brown, "The Columbia College Colloquium on Important Books," *Journal of General Education*, II (1948), 281.

met with such sustained student approval or such consistent satisfaction to both students and instructors. "Only a fine dramatic writer or one skilled in philosophic dialogue could render the quality of truly successful evenings, some of which touch greatness. There are bad evenings, and there are ineffective discussions, but in any two-year period the significant and profitable meetings far outnumber the rest."⁸⁹

Colloquium has never been intended as "research" in the usual sense of the term. This belongs more properly, given the suitable undergraduate level, to the seminar, whether departmental or interdepartmental. "The relationship of an undertaking like Colloquium to specialized courses such as undergraduate seminars may be suggested by the distinction between educational specialization and concentration."⁹⁰ Colloquium gives the opportunity for concentration without specialization. But it is essential to realize that Colloquium is not the reflection of any four-year concern on the part of the College to make "the 'great books,' and the 'great books' alone, the core of the Columbia curriculum. It is perhaps for this reason that we have always used the ambiguous but more modest phrase, 'important books.' Our purpose has been to discover criteria of importance in very pluralistic and undogmatic senses. The course has no metaphysical or critical pattern beyond the individual and joint intellectual patterns of its instructors and students."⁹¹

In 1948 Erskine, reviewing the tradition he had inaugurated, felt it necessary to comment on certain current versions of his idea, academic and nonacademic.

In many places the course has been misunderstood and misapplied. Some colleges give lectures on our list of books instead of discussing them. Lectures may be inspiring or otherwise useful, but they have no place in the natural social approach to literature, as I understand that approach. . . . It was not our purpose at Columbia to name the hundred best books, or anything of the kind. . . . The course was not intended as a substitute for specialized study. In particular, it was not meant to discourage the study of language.⁹²

The year before he had been just as emphatic on another count.

This course of mine . . . has been adopted in many colleges, but not always as I intended it. Many teachers have turned it into a course on philosophy, on

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁹⁰ James Gutmann, "The Columbia College Colloquium," *Columbia University Quarterly*, XXIX (1937), 54.

⁹¹ Alan W. Brown, "The Columbia College Colloquium on Important Books," *Journal of General Education*, II (1948), 284.

⁹² Erskine, *My Life as a Teacher*, p. 170.

some specific philosophy, and others have tried to expand it into an educational method for teaching all subjects. With these aberrations I have no sympathy whatever. . . . I was concerned with no philosophy and no method for a total education; I merely hoped to teach how to read.⁹³

To modify an original idea is no misdemeanor, but a duty. There are, of course, many kinds of modification, and they differ from one another as night from day. Whether in the humanities or elsewhere, as we have already noted, Columbia College's own direction has been relatively unimpeded by false piety to the past. It has chosen rather to retain the spirit in which Erskine himself taught.

THE TEMPER AND PRACTICE OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE

The college of this day and age is likely to be a closely-knit organization which comprises many independent levels of planning. Its teachers and administrators do not just come and go to their offices or classrooms: they carry numerous complex responsibilities delegated by the academic community. The general public has a much dimmer insight into the functions of a college than into those of a modern business corporation—a fact which would be less unfortunate if the two types of institutions were less frequently confounded. The corporation, it is felt, produces and markets goods and services, the college “offers” and sells packages of knowledge. The popular conception of the college is, of course, hardly consistent. On the one hand, the college is pictured as pursuing just such an entrepreneurial bent; but on the other hand, it is pictured as a cloister or ivory tower. Or on the one hand, the professor is pictured, under the influence of Hollywood and the press, as a queer bird, perhaps a benign sentimentalist; on the other, as an emotionless “expert” who exists to supply government and technology with information. Even within the college-corporation parallel there is no consistency; for in the typical public image the man of industry is efficient and alert, the professor warped and distracted.

The popular conception of the college is not totally devoid of truth, though haphazard half-truths are often more misleading than total falsehoods. The colleges do harbor contradictory trends. And they do exhibit—by infection, possibly, rather than by adoption—phenomena similar to those of industry and politics. But what is much more distressing is that academic men can be as provincial or uninformed about their world as the general public is. Misinformation extends, in more mischievous form, to influential writers on higher education, who have often criti-

⁹³ Erskine, *Memory of Certain Persons*, p. 343.

cized, legislated, or generalized with abandon. In 1950 the College of the University of Chicago, through an official publication,⁹⁴ felt it necessary to cite "certain misconceptions about what the College is and what it is trying to do," misconceptions based "upon a number of confusions: confusions between the College of the University of Chicago and St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland; between the College of the University of Chicago and the University of Chicago's 'Great Books' program for adults . . . between the interdisciplinary courses which are now given in the College and 'survey' courses."⁹⁵

This type of warning by Dean F. Champion Ward might well be employed for the use of Columbia College. The influence of the College on general education has been so great and has stemmed from so far back that sometimes it either is taken too much for granted or is overlooked as a continuous, growing process. The unique configuration of educational procedures in the College has been lumped together with programs that differ greatly in both tradition and operation. In the manner of Dean Ward it becomes necessary to call attention to various confusions: confusions between "general education" as conceived by some colleges and the liberal arts tradition of Columbia College; between Columbia College in Columbia University and Teachers College in Columbia University; between the student-centered emphasis of the College and diverse "guidance" programs; between the character of the college-university relation at Columbia and the character of that relation at other institutions.

In *The Future of the Liberal College* (1938) Norman Foerster spoke of "our prevailing philosophy of education, for which John Dewey and Teachers College are largely responsible." In consequence of these influences, he thought, "the liberal college is threatened with extinction."⁹⁶ Nowhere in the book is the Columbia College program referred to, nor is the practice of any liberal arts college other than Chicago discussed. Since the time of the book's publication there seems to have been no visible "extinction," despite a second world war; and it seems a fair guess that any increase in college mortality will result from economic and political shortsightedness, not from any philosophy of education.

Back in 1895, before he became President of Columbia University, Nicholas Murray Butler was much concerned with the definition of the liberal ideal. He found that "the designation 'liberal' has come to be claimed as the sole prerogative of a very narrow and technical course of

⁹⁴ *The Idea and Practice of General Education; An Account of the College of the University of Chicago by Present and Former Members of the Faculty* (Chicago, 1950).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

⁹⁶ Norman Foerster, *The Future of the Liberal College* (New York, 1938), p. v.

study that was invented for a very narrow and technical purpose.”⁹⁷ He himself preferred to ask, of a course of study: “Does it lead to a knowledge of our contemporary civilization? If not, it is neither efficient nor liberal.”⁹⁸ He noted the “danger, common to all universities, whether German or American, [that lies] in the excessive specialization which is so often warmly recommended to university students. Its inevitable result is loss of ability to see things in their proper proportion, as well as loss of sympathy with learning as a whole. . . . What science and practical life alike need is not narrow men, but broad men sharpened to a point.”⁹⁹ And he expressed his conception of the American college as “a school of broad and liberal education, a place where studies are carried on with reference to their general and more far-reaching relations . . . before the narrow specialization of the university is entered upon.”¹⁰⁰

Very early, then, a climate was established in which the educational outlooks of the University and College administrations could coincide. In 1917 Dean Keppel stated the problem of collegiate education simply but aptly: “There is probably no part of our educational scheme that is less the result of deliberate planning than the undergraduate college. It has just ‘growed,’ and we must not forget that it is still growing.” With prophetic insight, and with keen awareness that the directions then current might be very indecisive, he added: “We are now in the midst of a great war, and before we are through with it, and with the period of reconstruction which must follow, many of our educational processes will doubtless be found upon the scrap-heap along with obsolete engines of attack and defense.”¹⁰¹

When Hawkes succeeded Keppel he brought with him no elaborate or technically formulated educational perspective. But he possessed, in addition to his sanity and receptivity, a remarkably clear conviction on one point—the need to think of students as individuals rather than as units of a mass, and of the college as fulfilling students’ needs. Professor Ben Wood has said that Hawkes liked to locate his own outlook on this point in classic sources, particularly in the following passage from John Locke’s *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1695):

He, therefore, that is about children, should well study their natures and aptitudes, and see, by often trials, what turn they easily take, and what becomes them; observe what their native stock is, how it may be improved, and what it is fit for: He should consider, what they want; whether they be capa-

⁹⁷ Nicholas Murray Butler, *The Meaning of Education* (New York, 1907), p. 90.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 146–47.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁰¹ Frederick P. Keppel, *The Undergraduate and His College* (Boston, 1917), p. 336.

ble of having it wrought into them by industry, and incorporated there by practice; and whether it be worthwhile to endeavor it. For in many cases, all that we can do, or should aim at, is to make the best of what nature has given; to prevent the vices and faults to which such a constitution is most inclined, and give it all the advantages it is capable of. Everyone's natural genius should be carried as far as it could, but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but labor in vain: and what is so plaister'd on, will at best fit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the ungracefulness of constraint and affectation.¹⁰²

Keppel had felt that the man who was "looking with perhaps the clearest eye into the future just now" was John Dewey.¹⁰³ And indeed it is in Dewey that we find a theoretical expression which helps to explain the practice of Columbia College. This does not mean that the College is or has been dedicated to the propagation of an educational doctrine. For in the first place, it has never propagated any doctrine; and in the second place, what Dewey tried to do was to clarify the processes and methods of education, not to make education the vehicle of some prior commitment. It is fundamental to Dewey's view that when education dedicates itself to the propagation of *antecedently* prepared ideas it is not education at all but authoritarian indoctrination, and the "ideas" involved are not ideas at all but vapid commands. Dewey's ethical philosophy expressed dissatisfaction with the very notion of "doctrine," which suggests closed-minded settlement of an issue. He preferred "hypothesis" or "working principle," and it is not insignificant that the subtitle of the Columbia volume *A College Program in Action* (1946) is "A Review of Working Principles at Columbia College." A working principle may be a strong conviction. The method of intelligent flexibility sees to it that the educational convictions of the College are based on adequate experience. Dewey himself, we noted earlier, did not have a hand in the actual construction of the first postwar curriculum. But a goodly proportion of those who taught C.C. during the early years were his students. From the beginning his influence extended beyond his own university and was more deeply felt in elementary than in higher education. Because of the pervasiveness of this influence, Columbia College could not have escaped it, even if we overlook Dewey's direct impact on many Columbia colleagues and students. This is not the place for a systematic account of Dewey's educational theory. But to distill a few results from his thinking will be useful in the completion of the Columbia College picture.

¹⁰² Quoted from Ben D. Wood, "Criteria of Individualized Education," *Occupations, the Vocational Guidance Magazine*, 1936, p. 1.

¹⁰³ Keppel, *The Undergraduate and His College*, p. 351.

What happens in an "educational" situation? Clearly there is a relation of some kind, in which humans communicate with one another, whether informally in the deliberate settlement of a daily problem or more formally in the classroom. When a young person enters this educational situation, he enters it *as* a person—he brings with him, perforce, the sum of his life and his experiences, many of which continue actively in his present undertakings. Now if education is to be education *of* someone, and not isolated or perfunctory ritual extending over a period of six or eight or twelve years, it must be pursued as a process continuous with the life of the person concerned. For if it is not, then the so-called educational process affects only a part of the individual, leaving the relation of the part to the whole hanging as a major problem far more weighty than those which have been "educationally" dealt with. Furthermore, if we regard the educational process as separate from the process of ordinary living, we tend to overlook the presence of educational materials in the latter, leaving them to chance instead of actively utilizing them. We would do better to broaden the notion of education, to consider it as the process whereby a human organism appropriates materials for its own betterment.

Human activity as such has an educational aspect—it strives to profit from the past, to solve problems, to enjoy or understand what is before it. Education, according to Dewey, is the process by which we take what is available and attempt to transform it into something more valuable. It is "a constant reorganizing or reconstructing of experience"; it may indeed be defined as "that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience."¹⁰⁴ It is important to understand how Dewey uses the term "experience" here and what he considers its most fundamental meaning to be. He does not mean by the term a stream of feelings, impressions, or sensations that impinge upon "the mind." He means rather an activity or process in which the individual is involved. We ought not to speak at all of experiences as taking place in the mind, but of experiences as happening to the individual. In Deweyan locution, experience is experiencing. This is of the most direct relevance to the nature and practice of education. For if we emphasize experience as the *receiving* of ideas and impressions, we regard the student as being in a passive role; we tend to think of him as a receptacle (a "mind") in which data and ideas are deposited. If, instead, we emphasize experience

¹⁰⁴ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York, 1916), pp. 89-90.

as activity and interrelationship, we think of the student as a *participant* in an undertaking which is essentially collaborative and communicative.

Since 1919 Columbia College has embodied the latter conception of human experience by its preference for the discussion method, its emphasis on the student as a total personality, its commitment to interdepartmental instruction. It has now become a widely accepted truism that lecturing lends itself unduly to a unidirectional mode of communication and encourages passivity rather than participation. That interdisciplinary cooperation reflects the active conception of experience is less directly understood. To think of scholars and their fields as separable one from another is to think of one man's intellectual life as exclusively his own. Inquiry and discovery presuppose sharing and community. The notion of the instructor as an inquirer in the classroom and a student among his colleagues makes sense only when collaboration and inquiry are interpreted in terms of an adequate conception of experience.

Many years after *Democracy and Education* (1916), and at a time when a rash of books on liberal education was appearing, Dewey found it advisable to restate certain points within his own approach. He says, in *Experience and Education* (1938):

The statement that individuals live in a world means, in the concrete, that they live in a series of situations. And when it is said that they live *in* these situations, the meaning of the word "in" is different from its meaning when it is said that pennies are "in" a pocket or paint is "in" a can. It means . . . that interaction is going on between an individual and objects and other persons.¹⁰⁵

Then, in order to answer objections which might arise, and which had previously arisen, to the effect that this view overemphasizes the "active," the "outward," the mere "doing," the "practical" in education, Dewey goes on to suggest the breadth of his conception.

An experience is always what it is because of a *transaction* taking place between an individual and what, at the time, constitutes his *environment*, whether the latter consists of persons with whom he is talking about some topic or event, the subject being also a part of the situation; or the toys with which he is playing; the book he is reading (in which his environing conditions at the time may be England or ancient Greece or an imaginary region); or the materials of an experiment he is performing. The environment, in other words, is *whatever* conditions interact with personal needs,

¹⁰⁵ John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York, 1938), p. 41. Reproduced by permission of the Macmillan Company.

desires, purposes, and capacities to create the experience which is had. Even when a person builds a castle in the air he is interacting with the objects which he constructs in fancy. [*Italics added.*] ¹⁰⁶

The day-to-day practices and policies of Columbia College are thoroughly consonant with such a "transactional" conception of experience, and of educational experience in particular. Consider, for instance, the traditional College policy on the matter of class attendance. There is no inflexible rule. But neither is the College indifferent to student attendance on the theory that classes exist to prepare students for examinations or that the sole requirement of the student is to "know the material," whether he gets to "know" it in or out of class. Attendance is not bodily presence; it is not a mere symbol of courtesy. It means participation in a common undertaking, the experience of investigation. The society of the classroom is one environment to which the student is expected to respond, not necessarily through oral contribution but certainly through active reflection. He contributes to the goals of investigation by his critical attitude toward the process. This type of contribution can be made in the lecture as well as in the discussion. The lecture is inferior only because by its nature it minimizes the opportunity for active reflection through exchange of responses. To assume that classroom attendance is unnecessary or secondary is to assume that the student has no moral obligation to contribute to the transformation of experience in which the being of education consists.

Similarly, the foundational curriculum and the College tradition look with disfavor on the "objective" examination. The objective examination confounds understanding with information. The function of the examination is not to elicit from the student acceptable reactions—"yea," "nay," "this," "that." The examination is an educational situation which is part of the educational experience. It is, in a sense, the most sharply focused phase of that experience, wherein the student formulates and articulates the resultant values of his inquiry. The grading procedure is at worst a socially necessary device for invidious comparison and at best an academically necessary device for the discovery of aptitude. But it is not essential so far as the educational function of the examination is concerned. To express (in the examination) the relative outcome of his studies is an obligation on the student continuous with his participation in study. Nor can the relation of instructor to student stop short of the examination, as it is likely to where an "objective" grading procedure is employed. In Columbia College there is no separate staff or corps of ex-

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

aminers. The individual instructor prepares or helps to prepare the examination, and he alone has the responsibility of evaluating the performance of his students.

The term "environment" was not invented by John Dewey. But his analysis of it was well assimilated by his colleagues. The American college, as Dean Keppel preferred to put it, "provides, and can provide better as time goes on, an environment which will foster but not force the pushing and budding of the spirit of youth."¹⁰⁷ The first announcement of C.C., it will be recalled, describes as the primary aim of the course consideration "of the more outstanding and influential factors of his [the student's] physical and social environment." Through such study, "it is thought he will be aided in an intelligent participation in the civilization of his own day." This statement implicitly supplies the answer to a type of question frequently asked of an approach like Dewey's: Does it not lay exclusive emphasis on the present? Can it account for one of the most important phases of liberal learning, disinterested study of the past?

One of the principal characteristics of experience, Dewey points out, is its continuity. The learning individual is constantly widening his experience and discovering its ramifications. In so doing, he must look to the past and to the future—to the past for the ingredients that have shaped his life, to the future for the possibilities of enriching his life. "As an individual passes from one situation to another, his world, his environment, expands or contracts. He does not find himself living in another world but in a different part of one and the same world."¹⁰⁸ There are two extreme attitudes inimical to the educational process: one which regards the present as mere "preparation" for the future and another which sees in the past a haven from the present. The first of these extremes is more than merely untenable. "The ideal of using the present simply to get ready for the future contradicts itself. It omits, and even shuts out, the very conditions by which a person can be prepared for his future. We always live at the time we live and not at some other time, and only by extracting at each present time the full meaning of each present experience are we prepared for doing the same thing in the future."¹⁰⁹ To think of learning as preparation for something beyond learning is a defeat of the process. "The most important attitude that can be formed is that of desire to go on learning."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Keppel, *The Undergraduate and His College*, p. 374.

¹⁰⁸ Dewey, *Experience and Education*, p. 42.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

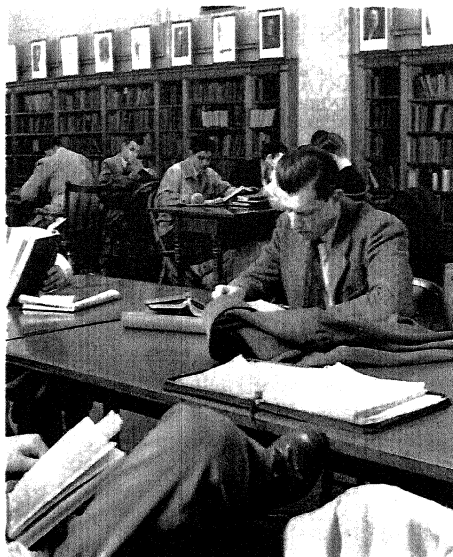
The second of the extreme attitudes both misinterprets the nature of the past and corrupts the study of the past.

The past is a great resource for the imagination; it adds a new dimension to life, but on condition that it be seen as the past *of* the present, and not as another and disconnected world. The principle which makes little of the present act of living and operation of growing, the only thing *always* present, naturally looks to the past because the future goal which it sets up is remote and empty. But having turned its back upon the present, it has no way of returning to it laden with the spoils of the past. A mind that is adequately sensitive to the needs and occasions of the present actuality will have the liveliest of motives for interest in the background of the present, and will never have to hunt for a way back because it will never have lost connection.¹¹¹

In what sense is Dewey's conception of education "liberal"? Dewey suggests that the Greek conception of liberal study was in large part influenced by a society which established a gulf between leisure and labor. Pursuit of a discipline as an end in itself was "liberal," free; pursuit of a discipline for purposes of utility was illiberal, servile. Those who had the leisure to study without having to apply their study naturally preferred the theoretical; and those forced to master a subject for its bearing on their livelihood were dominated by the exclusively practical. Hence arose the view which was basic to medieval society and which is invoked nostalgically by various current writers on education, the view that certain *subject matters* are intrinsically "liberal" and certain others servile. Dewey tries to show that liberality of study is not primarily a trait of the subject matter but of the attitude in which it is approached. If the so-called practical or industrial arts are illiberal, it is because they are pursued illiberally. And if certain disciplines remain inimical to liberal inquiry, it is because the social or industrial conditions dominating their pursuit prevent men from being able to approach them humanely and imaginatively. On the whole, however, the development of applied science and theoretical exploration in industry have made it increasingly possible to break down the barrier between "culture" and "utility," and the snobbish academic distinction between honorable and servile inquiries.

Any discipline, taught or studied, which helps to develop the imagination, which deepens insight, which points the way to further values and further knowledge, and which transforms experience into something richer is liberal because it is liberalizing. The liberal arts, John H. Ran-

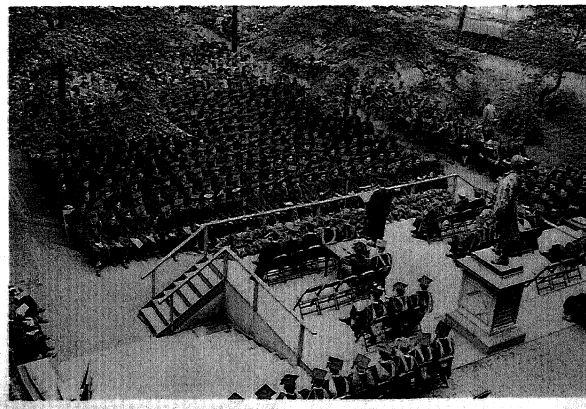
¹¹¹ Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, p. 89.



George Zimbel



“ . . . TO ENCOURAGE
THE SAID GOOD DESIGN
OF PROMOTING
A LIBERAL EDUCATION”
—KING’S COLLEGE
CHARTER, 1754



dall, Jr. reminds us, are the liberating arts,¹¹² and these include any "art" that frees us from narrowness, superstition, or prejudice. Science and literature are equally liberating and can be studied with equal liberality. The liberal college wishes its students to experience many outlooks, many disciplines, precisely because such experience makes narrowness impossible, not because it adds to a dilettantish mental repertory. Long ago Locke stated the educational principle involved.

If men are for a long time accustomed only to one sort or method of thoughts, their minds grow stiff in it, and do not readily turn to another. It is therefore to give them this freedom, that I think they should be made to look into all sorts of knowledge, and exercise their understandings in so wide a variety and stock of knowledge. But I do not propose it as a variety and stock of knowledge, but as a variety and freedom of thinking, as an increase of the powers and activity of the mind, not as an enlargement of its possessions.¹¹³

Those who contrast liberal learning with "learning by Deweying" (Foerster) have not examined Dewey himself with any care. They have glimpsed here and there a class in an experimental primary school and conclude that liberal education is moribund. Their stock object of caricature is the trivial college course—"the theory of angling," "the art of graceful window-raising." But Dewey was not to blame for colleges which debased or misinterpreted his ideas. His aim was to elevate the humblest craft into something significant and to prevent the theoretical disciplines from becoming mean, petty, or insular—from becoming illiberal.

If some accounts of the educational process help to clarify the character of the Columbia College tradition, others help admirably to show what it is not. The College does not assume that without some "theology or metaphysics a unified university cannot exist,"¹¹⁴ or that there is a "proper subject matter of the higher learning."¹¹⁵ Nor is it afraid that, in consequence, its halls may "abound in confident naturalists, materialists, humanitarians, in dogmatic agnostics, sceptics, cynics."¹¹⁶ It has convictions about the methods of undergraduate training. There are many things it is uncertain about. But it repudiates the view that a college can lay "depositions of wisdom" before students. It conceives of guidance—curricular, instructional, and administrative—as a central obliga-

¹¹² John H. Randall, Jr., "Which Are the Liberating Arts?" *American Scholar*, XIII (1944).

¹¹³ John Locke, *Of the Conduct of the Understanding*, xix.

¹¹⁴ Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven, 1936), p. 99.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹¹⁶ Foerster, *The Future of the Liberal College*, p. 89.

tion. "Since freedom," as Dewey has said, "resides in the operation of intelligent observation and judgment by which a purpose is developed, guidance given . . . to the exercise of the pupils' intelligence is an aid to freedom, not a restriction upon it."¹¹⁷

The College has avoided the two extreme procedures of the wholly prescribed and the wholly elective curriculum. The former tacitly assumes that the student's educational needs are independent of his desires; the latter, that the student's educational needs coincide with his desires. The former makes of the entire college an enterprise of foundational study; the latter makes of the college either a vehicle for the appeasement of purely personal aims on the part of the student or an institution reserved for potential specialists and for no one else. The former exaggerates the role of supervision and underestimates the student's capacities for choice; the latter ignores the cooperative function of the college and its duty to transmit a fund of liberalizing data. According to a recent expression of the College's position,

At Columbia we prefer to think, not of "what every man should know," but of the experiences and methods that we have found to be conducive to literacy and to the urge for further understanding. . . . [There are] intrinsically valuable educational experiences which all students should have the opportunity to acquire. . . . Broadening the student's imagination is not incompatible with deepening it. Ideally the two processes should be indistinguishable. General education and scholarly study can coexist and overlap.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Dewey, *Experience and Education*, p. 84. Of the many false interpretations of Dewey, one of the most painful is that which regards him as having fathered a completely quiescent role for the teacher. Such a misconception has led to inevitable misconception of the "discussion method" in higher education. Dewey says, for instance: "There is a present tendency in so-called advanced schools of educational thought to say, in effect, let us surround pupils with certain materials, tools, appliances, etc., and then let pupils respond to these things according to their own desires. Above all let us not suggest any end or plan to the students; let us not suggest to them what they shall do, for that is an unwarranted trespass upon their sacred intellectual individuality. . . . Now such a method is really stupid. For it attempts the impossible, which is always stupid; and it misconceives the conditions of independent thinking. . . . There is no spontaneous germination in the mental life. If [the student] does not get the suggestion from the teacher, he gets it from somebody or something. . . . The implication that the teacher is the one and only person who has no 'individuality' or 'freedom' to 'express' would be funny if it were not often so sad in its outworkings. . . . His contribution, given the conditions stated, will presumably do more to getting something started which will really secure and increase the development of strictly individual capacities than will suggestions springing from uncontrolled haphazard sources." (*Intelligence in the Modern World*, ed. by Joseph Ratner, New York, 1939, pp. 623-25.)

¹¹⁸ Lawrence H. Chamberlain and Justus Buchler, "Specialization or General Education?" *School and Society*, LXXV (1952), 275. (Also, *Journal of General Education*, VI [1952], 168.)

It is not difficult to find the thread between the current version of the College ideal and the version which preceded it by almost half a century. The spirit that has animated the tradition was expressed by Dean Woodbridge, long before it gathered fruit.

It would make the point of departure in the education of individual students the student himself and his environment, and thus work upward. It would not make that point of departure some supposed position which the student might eventually attain, and so work downward. . . . It would minimize the conception of education as a preparation for life, and magnify the conception of it as an experiment in living, a discipline in present excellence.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Frederick J. E. Woodbridge, "Pragmatism and Education," *Educational Review* (1907), p. 240.

III

“MOST GLAD TO TEACH . . .”

by Charles W. Everett

WHAT CHIEFLY struck a young man joining the staff twenty-five years ago was the variety of personalities and the sense of power. The range of power was tremendous; it seemed incredible that there could be any central principle uniting and binding together in any common purpose such diverse and explosive elements. What had Harold Urey and Raymond Weaver in common? Gardner Murphy and Joe McGoldrick? Shirley Quimby and Brander Matthews? A man did well if he could understand all the intellectual forces operating in his own department. The writer shared for ten years a small double office on the third floor of Hamilton with Krutch and Van Doren and Weaver, any one of whom could have filled a college, let alone a room. And in another place there was History, with lines of force radiating from Carlton J. H. Hayes out to instructors like Clough and Langsam and Miner and Woolsey Cole and Barzun. Philosophy was just as bad, from Woodbridge and Dewey and Coss at the top to junior lecturers like Richard McKeon and Mortimer Adler. And make no mistake, McKeon and Adler were just as dynamic, as learned, and as terrifying then as they could possibly be now at Chicago as deans and pundits. Science and Mathematics one touched only distantly, since their severe priesthood gave something of an impression that college was merely a place to sift the men from the boys, something to be gotten over, like adolescence or calf love, with as little waste of time as might be. Yet even the most ignorant could sense there,

too, the deep hum made by a dynamo turning at unheard-of revolutions, a quiet warning to stand not too close to hidden forces.

It was important that the College have strong men at the top, not simply for their work and their influence on students under them, but also for the building of the future. And here the real nature of their strength became evident. It was not a political, get-on-in-the-world kind, fearful of the challenge from the young bulls of the herd, careful to hoard power and to distrust competitors. Such men do exist, even in the academic world, but the tone of Columbia College was exactly the opposite. What the men at the top seemed to desire was not that their juniors should be pale imitations of themselves but rather men who could stand on their own feet and defend new and perhaps what seemed even preposterous doctrines, whether in criticism, in history, or in physics. The tone in general was that summed up in Whitman's line: "He most honors my style who learns under it to destroy the teacher." In return the older men got from the young a sense of grateful loyalty and almost passionate admiration. Since one was free to differ from the great man, one was also free to learn from him and to imitate him.

Twenty-five years ago, as any social historian cannot fail to note, the United States passed from a postwar boom to the Great Depression. The bad effects of the depression were obvious; it might be observed, however, that from that time there was a new note of seriousness among undergraduates, by no means limited to studies of "social significance" or the various forms of Marxism. It was simply that the rah-rah boy, the coonskin coat, and the gin bottle were suddenly quaint and old-fashioned. The new seriousness was fortunate in finding a new generation of teachers, many of whom had served in the ranks in the old bow-and-arrow war, called World War I.

This was important, for this group on the whole avoided the two extravagances of the boom and of the depression. The extravagance of the boom, in human terms, was the famous lost generation. It was composed very largely of officers of World War I, young men who had been given a status and privilege superior to anything known to most civilian Americans before, and they had quite naturally assumed that, to reverse Shakespeare, "the merit is in ourselves, dear Brutus, that we are *not* underlings." They had learned that "rank has its privileges"; they could take their places at the head of any waiting line of men; they had the best of whatever was available. Not for them the forty-and-eight or the manure pile, though of course in combat Reality asserted itself. The consequence was that some of the junior citizen officers had a very hard time

adjusting to civilian life after the war. As the literature from Fitzgerald to Hemingway bears witness, many were lost souls, bitter because life, which had promised so much, failed to keep its promise. Perhaps the percentage of those who were "lost" is exaggerated, but it was at least noticeable. The enlisted man, on the other hand, asked nothing more than to get out of uniform as soon as possible and to be given a chance to show that he could do very well in a world where other qualities were prized than those useful to an army.

The extravagance of the depression was communism, and to this, too, the World War soldier was, on the whole, immune, and for a very good reason. He had *had* the ordered state, the free dentistry, the wriggling politics. He knew the kind of men who would be commissars. It might be better than starvation, but not much better, and if there was an alternative to either, he would try to find it. If the men responsible for the drive and energy and thought behind the New Deal were examined, it might be interesting to observe how high a proportion came from this group. And it was, perhaps, not insignificant how largely the college faculties loomed in the New Deal; their attempt was not to bring about socialism; on the contrary, most of them were determined to avoid the ordered state, to find an American solution.

The course in Contemporary Civilization A introduced shortly after the war has been described in some detail. It was mainly concerned with the intellectual background and the historical perspective of life in the modern world; but with a staff composed largely of brilliant young men, the subject matter was continually changing. In 1928 the only full professor was John Coss, but the group included Harry J. Carman, Horace L. Friess, and Frederick E. Croxton, Dwight Miner, Sam McKee, and Joseph McGoldrick, later comptroller of New York City.

The next year saw the amoebic fission of the course, the creation—that is—of Contemporary Civilization B, dealing with contemporary political and economic problems in the United States, as has been described in detail by Professor Buchler.

In 1928 was also created a joint offering of the History department and the English department, called Historical Bases of English Literature, a course designed by two young assistant professors, Bartlet Brebner and Emery Neff. To two other instructors from the English department, George Hibbitt and Charles Everett, there were soon added from the History department instructors Jacques Barzun and Charles Woolsey Cole, now President of Amherst. The course was suspended after a few years when departmental demands or other institutions removed the

available staff. But while it ran, the course was an excellent illustration of the academic truism that it matters little what a course is called or how the syllabus reads, but that it matters immensely who teaches it.

Neff was largely responsible for another innovation in the curriculum, the three-year survey of English literature. This was, in some senses, a course designed at right angles to the theory of the general education courses like C.C. and Humanities, in so far as that theory implies a wide acquaintance with many things, rather than an exact knowledge of some one thing. The ideal purpose of Humanities is that the wide ranging course shall give the student enough acquaintance with many things so that, whatever his interests and capabilities, he will be attracted to a special field of study. A week each of Plato, Aristotle, and Spinoza can do little in the way of philosophic training, but as experience has proved, it does sometimes convince a student that philosophy is what he wishes to study.

Neff wished to start the literary student in his sophomore year on an ordered reading of English literature, so that on graduation he would be ready for professional study or, alternatively, be more widely and deeply read in the classics of his mother tongue than he could hope to be without the sequence.

The first year of the English literature survey swept over the large territory from the Venerable Bede and Beowulf to the end of the sixteenth century in almost as rapid fashion as the Humanities course. The second year, carrying four "maturity credits," began with Shakespeare and ended with Dr. Johnson, and the student was expected to read more intensively than in his first year. The third year, carrying six maturity credits, covered the romantic movement and the nineteenth century with a severely limited reading list, on which the student was held to a critical and scholarly standard of knowledge.

The experiment was soon justified by its graduates. One of them, Andrew Chiappe, after the almost unheard-of event of making a first at Cambridge as Kellett Fellow, after only one year of residence there, said in modest depreciation of his own powers: "I had a great advantage over the English students in that I had had the Columbia sequence. They had read widely, but not systematically." The design was at once elastic enough and sound enough to continue almost unchanged to the present time. Originally, the first year was given by Raymond Weaver and Henry Dick, the second by Mark Van Doren and George Nobbe, the third by Emery Neff and Charles Everett. The principle of a basic unity with great variations in individual sections is clearly seen.

The 1930's had their strength in the College largely because the men at the top—Hawkes and Coss and Carman and Tugwell and Steeves—were not afraid to let younger men experiment with methods and subject matters, so long as they had ideas and were willing to work. There was a depression, promotions took about ten years for each step, but the College had a drive and energy that was unmistakable.

Dean Herbert E. Hawkes was an extraordinary man and an extraordinary dean. At 8 A.M. his office, facing the main entrance to Hamilton Hall, was open for the day's work. Behind the desk, or in front of it, or in the entrance hall was Dean Hawkes, greeting every faculty member and most of the students, conferring, making decisions, appointing committees, listening to sob stories. The briefer the story, the readier the sympathy. Long-winded people never had a chance to catch their second wind, for he was somehow able to make them feel that even their time was valuable, not merely his. How his assistant, now Dean of Students McKnight, was able to get all the complexity of oral decision into the written record is difficult to imagine, but somehow it was done. Hawkes thought most problems had simple solutions, and he usually had trouble in accepting the idea that anyone who differed with him on fundamentals was intellectually honest, but he was tolerant rather than authoritarian in dealing with such people. He was naturally witty, and sometimes his wit misled him by accenting too much one side of a situation. If he had characterized a brilliant student as "a stuffed shirt—the very best quality of stuffing, of course," it was hard to get him to do justice to the man's solid qualities, but he would always listen to argument—if it was brief. Sometimes the wit made argument impossible, for it settled the matter. To some earnest alumni who protested radical *Spectator* editorials, he said, "You fellows are, I think, color-blind. What you mistake for red is simply green." Hawkes had the good sense to take on credit what he did not care for personally. He thought poetry a few ideas expressed in too many words, but under the advice of men like Coss and Edman he helped bring about the Humanities program. Coss complemented Hawkes, so that without directly opposing him, he was able to exercise a steady pressure for more poetry, for more philosophy, for more music and art.

John Jacob Coss was a graduate of Wabash College and a trustee of Wabash College, and he was always proud of Indiana and cultivated a somewhat "folksy" allegiance to its soil. From Wabash to Union Theological was but a step for him, however, and a longer step took him across the street to philosophy under Frederick J. E. Woodbridge and John

Dewey, first as student and then as instructor. When World War I came, he fell somehow into the personnel division, overhauled the whole division, and came out a lieutenant colonel. With his organizing ability, the Army was fortunate to escape so lightly.

Though not a productive scholar, Coss was, as teacher and administrator, thoroughly committed to scholarship. To him nothing was administratively impossible if it was intellectually important. Above all, he understood money, and what its function was and ought to be. It was power, not to be wasted, but to be harnessed and put to work in the service of the intellect. Since, in the academic world, money tends to flow in channels worn deep by time, it is extremely difficult to change its course. The budget is the primary source of all or any university activity or inactivity, and Coss knew more about a budget than a certified accountant could ever know—he knew how it ought to be directed. If a young man had an idea for a scholarly book, Coss saw to it that fellowship money would be available. If a course was desirable, but there was no money for it—that was a dangerous moment for any stray courses which could offer no sound answer to the old *quo warranto*.

Coss loved travel, music, and the fine arts, and for all his devotion to Indiana, asked no better spiritual home than New York City. He was a founding trustee of Bennington College and of Dillard University—the latter through his associations with the Rosenwald Fund, which led him to a deep interest in Negro education.

His great achievement for the College was in helping to put in concrete form as curriculum certain aspects of civilization which are important to those who are concerned with the humane tradition.

Columbia College has been too rich and complex, however, to be shaped or determined by any one man or pair of men. Perhaps the best way to illustrate this fact is by remembering some of the men who have gone, through death or retirement. What is striking is that they are not gone actually, that there is a certain immortality granted to the great personality or the gifted teacher apart from the books he has written or the works of art he has created.

Everybody wanted to study with Carlton Hayes. Long before he became ambassador to Spain, he had a national reputation as a great force in the teaching of history and the direction of the younger generation's political mind. His textbooks had spread his name and consolidated his influence wherever history was taught and studied. The force of the man himself was immediately felt, whether one attended a lecture of his as a tryout, or whether one called on him to get his signature for the

privilege of taking his advanced courses. As a lecturer he belonged to the oratorical school, though he spoke from notes and not like a book. His voice filled the largest rooms, and his pauses were as eloquent as his famous pounces on a given word: "Now, *Bis*—marck . . . !" or again: "*Nationalism*!" Hayes had not created or discovered Nationalism, nor was it his King Charles's Head, but he made unforgettable a movement of ideas that hitherto most people had taken for granted or listed casually among others as forces in the modern world. From that movement of ideas, Hayes's interest went on to other aspects of thought and culture, and he may be said without exaggeration to have prepared and nurtured the later passion for cultural history, which is now so widespread as to have become a distinct discipline.

Harold Jacoby was a teacher of the old school. He had the assured manner of a man who has seen dozens of college generations pass, and he played without affectation his role of Grand Old Man. His course in astronomy was taken by many as a substitute for the supposedly tougher sciences, but it was an excellent course, and so was Jacoby's textbook. He would occasionally peer at it during his beautifully organized and delivered lectures and say: "At this point I find there is a joke written in the margin, but the page has been thumbed so long that the writing is blurred and I can't read it." Jacoby had interesting anecdotes of his trips to various parts of the earth in search of total eclipses of the sun, and face to face he was a most humane, humorous, and gentlemanly elder.

Hermon Farwell, as a teacher of physics, meant a great deal to certain able College students, some of whom have since distinguished themselves in the sciences and elsewhere. There were apparently no limits to the time and patience he was prepared to offer the man who wanted to know. At the same time, the student found the help painful. For Farwell had no interest whatever in handing out answers to be filed in the student's memory; he was concerned that the student arrive at the end by a process of thought, and thinking, like any exercise to which one is unaccustomed, is painful after a very short time. As some of Farwell's men found, however, persistence in the process diminished the pain, and eventually there came a sense of power, good in itself as well as useful. As they moved on in the world, they usually gave credit to the quiet professor of physics for helping them to realize that scientific thinking was possible.

John M. Nelson for many years gave the course on Organic Chemistry for undergraduates. To the premedical students he sometimes appeared to be a kind of Rhadamanthus, measuring out with a justice indifferent to pity exactly where one belonged in the scale of excellence, and quite

sure that a man who was incompetent in organic chemistry should never be entrusted with the practice of medicine. His lectures were admitted to be forceful and clear, to be easy to follow in so far as organic chemistry can be made easy to follow; but nothing can make organic chemistry easy or plausible. Every lecture began at one end of a long blackboard. As Nelson proceeded, across the board the formulae spread and proliferated, until at the end of the hour the blackboard and the students were full. Good students liked him; some of them went on to specialization in biochemistry with a sense of a firm foundation laid in their undergraduate years. He was always urbane, always charming, and always just.

Raymond Weaver was a man celebrated for a multitude of eminences. He had invented Herman Melville; he had lived in Japan; he wore plus fours in which he could have carried his entire library; he spoke with an accent of perfect clarity and force, but which apart from him was never heard on land or sea. He dramatized the whole of life—which was wonderful for the teaching of literature and aesthetics but petrifying in personal relations. He could ask the eternal pedagogic question: "What do you *mean*, Mr. Doe, by 'interesting'?", and make it sound like an irrefutable accusation of incompetence; and yet he did not merely terrify, he taught. What he taught was an outlook of combined wonder and critical resiliency. Never to take literary platitudes at their face value, and never to become a cheap skeptic: these were the two lessons that he effortlessly enforced through his lectures, his Socratic questioning, and his calculated enormities. Raymond Weaver was never taken aback, and he never seemed especially outgoing, but he suffered a good deal from fools, and he welcomed the rare opportunities of unbending and laughing off the whole of civilization. During one of the apartment house strikes in the late thirties, before the era of electric razors, Weaver was the only man who, in the absence of customary hot water, arrived at the College perfectly shaved. Had he been to the barber? No! How did he do it then? "I boiled ice cubes."

One of Harrison Steeves's most devoted students once wrote a poem in which he said that the words that Steeves used "made the eardrum creep." The first days in Steeves's class on the novel were a revelation to some and a cause of panic in others. The man had no affectation: he did know all there was to know about English and Continental literature, but he spoke like a character from a Henry James novel who had taken care to make his diction more classic by spending a few years in the eighteenth century. Without laying any stress upon it or making use of explicit rules, Steeves taught what criticism was by distinguishing and

discriminating among opinions until the brain reeled. When he fixed one with his strong blue eye and put a question, the stoutest might quail, but even the frightened discovered that there was a beating heart behind that formidable exterior; and although Steeves was chary of encouraging adolescent hopes, he steered a good many of his best students into the careers he thought them suited for. Never one to have favorites, he was once heard to remark as he returned a set of papers, one of which was marked A+: "This is a mark I very seldom give, Mr. Jones," and Mr. Jones had the wit, thanks to his teacher's shining example, to answer: "This is a mark I very seldom get, Professor Steeves."

Steeves's greatest virtue, perhaps, was his flexibility of mind and his willingness to experiment, particularly in relation to the teaching of English A. Professor Edman recalls that rumor said the course was changed every year. It was certainly changed frequently. Steeves himself had edited a volume of essays in pairs, expressing in each pair ideas contradicting each other or at least incompatible. From the clash of flint on steel a spark was supposed to be struck which would kindle a fire in the student's mind. Sometimes this happened; often the mind was damp or incombustible. Then there was the "back to the Romans" idea. How did a Roman boy learn to write—by studying grammar and then logic. There was at least one happy year when any freshman could juggle Euler's circles in logic and give technical names to all the fallacies he continued to perpetrate in his writing. Five years before Humanities A was begun, English A began reading Homer, ten Greek plays, and several epics, in the hope that an enriched mind would mean readable papers. In the opinion of some of us, this was the most profitable idea tried. This pattern yielded, however, to student clamor, or what seemed to be student clamor, for some "modern" literature. The main difficulty seemed to be that profitable modern literature proved too complex for freshmen and that *Babbitt* or *Sister Carrie* was too hard on the instructor.

Then came Humanities A, largely at the instance of the English department, and English A became a ghost, called English C, a requirement and not a course. It would have worked in an English university, where every tutor in *every* course insists on literate writing if the student is to receive credit for the course. It could not in an American college, where most instructors outside the English department believe that form and content are two separate things and that it is possible for one to know something and not be able to express it except by affixing a plus or a minus sign to a statement made by someone else. Despite great energy in the operation and administration of English C, it too became a ghost. In recent times

English A was brought back in curtailed form, not because the English department asked for it, but because the need was too obvious to be longer ignored.

Joseph Wood Krutch is an armored cruiser with the interior mechanism of a Swiss watch. He retired fifteen years too soon because his asthma would allow him to sleep lying down in Arizona, as it would not in New York, but no one who met him casually would ever have guessed that anything could be wrong physically with anyone so much in command of the situation. His book *The Modern Temper* had explained to the era of the twenties what ailed them and why. He had been an effective journalist and drama critic, and he marked his acceptance of the Brander Matthews Chair of Dramatic Literature by a definitive biography of Samuel Johnson—the only life, one suspects, since Boswell's written by a man whom Dr. Johnson would have tolerated in his company.

Krutch was, it may as well be admitted, an eighteenth-century wit. He tried to keep the tendency down, for he knew, as Mark Twain knew, that a funny man will not be taken seriously, and he had important things to say. He even told humorous stories, but usually the stories came, like Lincoln's, at a point where a deadlock of wills or of opinion could be resolved by them. The wit, however, was of a different stamp—it was always intellectual and philosophic, turning up a deeper layer of reality to be looked at. If one wondered why it wasn't until the nineteenth century that the fatal woman appeared, since in the eighteenth century it was the man who loved them and left them, Krutch would explain: "There really *aren't* any fatal women; there are only men of varying degrees of susceptibility." The essence of wit is, of course, that it shall be immediate. Most of us can think of a good retort after it is too late to use it. If someone quoted a hackneyed line of poetry, like Marmion's

O Woman, in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,

only Krutch's mind would immediately cross the seas and time to another poet talking about Vice, and cap the lines with:

Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

What he gave his students in dramatic literature was above all a sense of the continuity of human experience. Man has always been interested in the drama and the dramatic, and Krutch's wide acquaintance with the modern theater could render vivid the older plays, while his knowledge

of history could give meaning to the students' experience of the contemporary.

Much of the strength of the College has been due to the presence of what an English college would call the senior tutor—frequently almost unknown outside his own college, publishing little, but helping others to publish, helping students to find themselves, serving wisely on laborious committees, devoted to the institution rather than to his own career. It is difficult to make a selection here among names, but certain men who have retired or passed from the scene come at once to mind.

There was, for example, Gottlieb Betz—Gottlieb Betz and his passionate conviction that the greatest book in the world was the *Faust* of Goethe, a conviction that kept the student moving on from line to line, from meter to meter, from point to point until at the end of a year he could feel that he had *read* at least one book. So with Gustave Spiers on Racine, Schinnerer on Arthur Schnitzler, or Louis Imbert on *Don Quixote*.

Or there was Parker Siceloff, who could not believe that there was anyone in the world too stupid or too blind not to understand the beauty and power of the f of x if it were only made clear to him. From eight in the morning to five in the afternoon, his door stood open on the main floor, with quaint dissections of geometrical solids to lure in the passing student, who found sometimes to his surprise that understanding mathematics was not something limited to five students in the class, queer fellows with eyes fixed on far-off horizons who actually understood the strange patterns on the blackboard. He was one of the rare men capable of conveying a sense of mathematics to the nonmathematical mind. He published little, but generations of Columbia College students are grateful to him for making a difficult subject matter seem intelligible to them.

Or Algernon Tassin, once a Broadway figure with a profile, who had played opposite Julia Marlowe and had led a wicked life until his eyes were opened to theosophy and the unity of being and the importance of the word. He was convinced that reading was of primary importance to education and that only by reading aloud could a man be taught. Anyone who went through his textbook of passages, carefully graduated in difficulty, would be stopped, harangued, pleaded with, and instructed until he *knew* what that passage meant. Tassin's diet was nuts and fruit, his heart was pure, and his mind was single in its purpose.

For many years Burdette I. (I for Robert Ingersoll) Kinne was the *enfant terrible* of the French department and of the College. He had a strong Voltairean bent, as well as the Voltairean wit, and he insisted on

speaking his mind, in season and out of season. He insulted his students, treated his pastors and masters with contempt, and seemed to enjoy life immensely. Sometimes the student found the relationship intolerable (the boy's only crime, perhaps, was coming from Leonia, New Jersey, or reading the *Saturday Evening Post*); sometimes he was initiated into beginning to think for himself and ended by sharing with Kinne the credit for his own maturity. Kinne found his greatest satisfaction in Humanities A, and he certainly brought unusual life and color to the weekly staff meetings. What he said there often engendered passionate protest or contradiction, but usually there was a dialectical process, and the truth was clearer or in more effective form when the discussion was over.

It was only natural that Kinne should be so conspicuous in the French department, for the tone of the department in general was that of the Legion of Honor and of centuries of civilized behavior. It made one feel better all day just to say "good morning" to Pierre Clamens or Justin O'Brien, and the succession of important books appearing from that department showed that scholarship was as marked as courtesy. Donald Frame, Nathan Edelman, and Wilbur M. Frohock played important parts in the shaping of the Humanities program, and Frame is now the administrative officer of Humanities A.

One's education as a teacher in Columbia College was rounded out, if one was fortunate, by acquaintance with H. K. Dick. Other men were as civilized and urbane as he was, though few would have known enough to buy paintings, first of Monet and Degas and Renoir, later of Utrillo and Rousseau and Rouault, when they could be had for \$500 each instead of \$15,000. Others too, knew music and read books. But there was a difference. With Dick, art was not a matter of passive "appreciation" but of active mastery. Perhaps that was why his major interest was biography—the *art* of biography. The world has seen many great men since Agamemnon, and of course Plutarch has through the ages influenced the attempt to transfer the experience of life to the written account. On the whole, however, it is almost a lucky accident when the great man finds the adequate biographer. An easy way to solve the problem, of course, is to insist that there aren't any great men, that there is only the *Zeitgeist* or the Spirit of the Age or economic forces or something of the sort. Dick thought otherwise; and he taught biography as the rarest of the creative arts. He wrote no books himself, but important books were dedicated to him by men who had been his students.

As time goes on, a man who has spent most of his life in the service of an institution begins to feel a sort of *mystique* about the place. In some

way the university selects its members, decides on the nature of its being, eliminates those who do not serve its purposes. This feeling is of course nonsense, since policies are made by men, and sometimes by rather brash and uninformed men. Still it is hard to avoid the feeling. Somehow the university does go on in a way no man designs yet many men serve. There always seems to be enough good will, enough good faith, enough intelligence to avoid the more catastrophic wrong decisions—to make what are on the whole the correct ones. And of all decisions, of course, the most important are those about the men to be invited to form the faculty. Sometimes, like Barzun, Miner, or Trilling, the new man comes straight out of the undergraduate work in Columbia College; again he may come from Idaho or Illinois or Oklahoma. All one knows is that the man belongs here, that he may—indeed that he *must*—take up the work relinquished by the men who pass off the scene.

It is this sense of continuity that enables one to look forward with some certainty to good days to come. It is very tempting to try to estimate the future careers of a dozen brilliant young men just beginning to make their mark. It is less interesting, partly because it is more presumptuous, to attempt character sketches of some of the men who were here twenty-five years ago and are still active.

Members of the College Boar's Head Society between 1915 and 1917 found themselves in the presence of two great teachers and distinguished Columbia men of letters, though they might have recognized only John Erskine, faculty leader of the literary group. Irwin Edman, then secretary, delighted Erskine and the other Boar's Head members by reading his regular minutes in flawless verse, gay rhythms with ingenious rhyme schemes such as had already given a taste of cosmopolitan fame to "Irwin" of F.P.A.'s "Conning Tower."

But though Edman sometimes joins his fellow aestheticians in Ivory Towers, his students know that his philosophic feet are firmly planted on terra firma and that his humor keeps him from forgetting that philosophic naturalism at its best is (naturally) an expression of our common human nature. Though his uncommon absent-mindedness is often referred to—not infrequently by himself—and though apocryphal stories about it are, indeed, notorious, Edman's students are well aware that in important matters he is extraordinarily present-minded. His capacity for reciting by heart is probably unrivaled and he has learned to compensate for poor eyesight by memorizing whole pages of verse and prose. His rendition of Erasmus's farewell in *The Praise of Folly* is likely to be the climax of his final lecture relished by large numbers of students who,

through the years, have counted Philosophy 3-4 one of the great Columbia College courses.

The time would come when Edman's friendships would stretch around the world—would include Somerset Maugham and Santayana; when his wit would delight the Athenaeum in London; and when the Sorbonne would hear him discourse on the nature of humor with English examples rendered into French wit. Columbia College has nearly always had on its faculty some one who was a real citizen of the world, from the time of Lorenzo da Ponte, Professor of Italian, who had written librettos for Mozart operas, up to the present. In the nineties Brander Matthews was the friend of Kipling and of Mark Twain, and Irwin Edman fits very well into the tradition.

And what an extraordinary person Bartlet Brebner was and still is! His main passion seems to be the constitutional history of Britain, and one has to know him well to realize that his concern for orderly and legal procedures springs from an intense awareness of the only alternative—the push of pike and the rush of bullets. For he served in the Canadian army during a period of three years—1915-18—a time when theoretically every man in that army had been destroyed and replaced—*twice*. Yet even in early days he did not talk of Gallipoli; he talked, and most luminously, of Tory squires and habeas corpus and Whig entrepreneurs and the nature of party government. He is at ease and at home anywhere—in a Cambridge common room or at the Athenaeum or the Anglo-American Historical Conference or a Parisian restaurant. Most of all he is at home with ideas, whether in the give and take of conversation to be treated humorously and wittily, in the classroom to be dramatized, or in his historical writings to be organized and related to each other.

Really to recall the life and color and variety of a single strong department like History or Philosophy would be to write a book and an important one. Imagine a single undergraduate department with persons as diverse, as much at opposite poles of temperament, as Bartlet Brebner, Harry Carman, Jacques Barzun, and Dwight Miner.

Dean Emeritus Harry Carman is one of the best loved and best known teachers of his generation. Although he is an upstate New Yorker to the core, his manner would have been perfect for one of those well-read New England senators—familiar with the earthy round of beef and cider, hail-fellow-well-met at the country store, but with a good library and a good tailor for all that.

No one who has ever heard Carman say on leaving his colloquium, "You just ought to listen to that wonderful bunch of fellows in there!"

doubts his unquenchable devotion to young men. But, if he treats them all with equal warmth and kindness, he knows instinctively the difference between the lazy, garrulous backbenchers and the tough-fibred fraction who can earn his respect and his letters of recommendation.

Nationally known as an expert on agricultural history, he writes it at Columbia and makes it on his two hundred and thirty acres near Saratoga Springs. Classes learn about The Farm, its new stone fences, its recently reshingled barn, and know it as their own. But what they never heard is that the fund that enabled the student to spend a summer in France and which Carman "just happened to remember" was created on the spot out of his own imagination and filled within the hour out of his own pocket-book.

As nearly selfless as a man can be, he has served the city, state, and nation with the sure faith that tomorrow will be better if "folks will only try to see each other's point of view." And he means with all his heart everything he says—except his disingenuous avowal: "I'm only a good dirt farmer who should never have left Saratoga county."

Actually his scholarship is impressive and far from conventional. "Hay was important," he may for instance declare, "more important than cotton. It was as important then as gasoline is now—and for the same reason." And in addition to scholarly activity which produced volume upon volume of published history, he can boast a shrewd and downright political sense that gives him great weight on the New York City Board of Education, as well as on numerous labor and other boards. His retirement from academic life has already begun to mean a complete new range of achievement elsewhere.

What strikes anyone upon first acquaintance with Jacques Barzun is the range, precision, and vivacity of his intellect. Yet if his power of intellect is likely to be the first thing noted by a new student or a new colleague, nothing could be further from the truth than the conclusion which is sometimes made, that Barzun is an intellectualist. Quite to the contrary, his quickest and strongest sympathies are exercised in support of the intuitive and the creative qualities of the mind. His feeling for intellectual order is intense, but it is matched by his feeling for the mind as it diverges from the conventional and accepted way of thought and perception. As a teacher he makes upon his students demands of more than usual strictness, but no teacher could be quicker than he to see the seed of promise that may lie hidden in a student's confusion and befuddlement, or work harder to bring that seed into growth. It is this combination of strict demand and quick responsiveness that wins from his students

the quite special loyalty they give him. If at first they think him difficult to approach, they soon learn how entirely, and how permanently, he is devoted to their interests.

In an academic community it is not unusual for men of exceptional talents and notable achievement to claim exemption from the time- and spirit-consuming work of academic committees. Nothing could be further from Barzun's character than this. Although to his own teaching, research, and writing he devotes a concentrated energy that is the despair of his colleagues, he has always been ready to give fully of himself to the day-to-day work of the College. And those who have worked with him know how entire is his sense of responsibility, how no job seems to him too small or too insignificant to deserve his time and his best thought. For many years he was one of the leading spirits of the group that shaped the contemporary Civilization course; the establishment of Colloquium is largely owing to him; and he was one of the leading proponents of the Humanities course.

A word really must be said about Miner, even if he is the general editor of this history. A product of Columbia College, appointed to its History department immediately after obtaining his A.M., Dwight Miner soon made a name with the undergraduates as one of the most effective, sympathetic, and devoted of instructors in the College. Whether with the large group in History 9 (the introduction to American History) or in the intimate colloquium and reading course, Miner knows how to hold both the interest of the first-rate students and the wandering wits of the C-man who has just eaten a large lunch. Miner's ability lies first in his deep knowledge of his specialty and wide reading outside it, and next in his instinct for drama. His booming voice recreates the telling incident or, in a lower key, insinuates the comment that no listener forgets. Whether students remember him, in blurred recollection, as impersonating Theodore Roosevelt when he delivered the Cross of Gold Speech—is that quite right?—or as recounting a chat he had with his classmate Alexander Hamilton, they retain most clearly a sense that the past is as colorfully complex as the present, and that Miner lives in both. They learn, too, that this is not only an attribute of a master historian but of a dedicated humanist. Miner's breadth of learning and sureness of taste make him the superb symbol and justification of the Columbia program whose product he is. For he knows instinctively that (as he has said) the men whose names are cut into the façade of the library—Herodotus, Galileo, Dante, Plato, Aristotle—are all alumni of The College.

Outside the classroom, Dwight Miner is ever at the disposal of the in-

quiring, for teaching is to him second nature, and he seems to have no private concerns that take precedence over the student's needs. Nor is his wisdom limited to academic affairs: many a man has come away from an interview with Miner strengthened and comforted, not to say armed with just the right weapon for battling with the difficulties of life. That students regularly vote him "the most popular professor" is a clear sign of the affectionate admiration in which he is held.

History has been, and is, a strong department, but even a casual glimpse around other departments will show that there is no mold or pattern of uniformity anywhere, except that here are persons rich in individuality, striking in character, and marked in ability.

Lionel Trilling, though still in his forties, is already translated into French, Japanese, and Swedish, and his international correspondence is ruinous in time and postage. Two years ago I was told in London by a critic of some standing, "But, my dear sir, we consider Trilling an *English* writer." He was being humorous, but the humor had a point.

From the start of his teaching career, Trilling was known to his students as "something special." Not that there was anything precious or highfalutin about his ways or his thoughts. Quite the contrary. He was among the first of the nonacademics in American higher education—men, that is, who are scholars and lecturers at the same time that they are critics, poets, or novelists for the intelligentsia. They may teach Victorian literature but they breathe the spirit of contemporary literature. To his students, whether in Colloquium (which he traditionally taught in partnership with Professor Barzun) or in his lecture courses, Trilling brought into active use the ideas of Freud, Frazer, Dewey, Eliot, and Henry James.

But these ideas, as he handled them, became something original and characteristic of the user himself. Like his master in criticism, Matthew Arnold, Professor Trilling has the gift of understanding positions opposed to his own. He makes large concessions to any point of view found in the class or the literature of the subject, but he always brings you back to what he sees, and you leave his presence seeing the world through his eyes. There is in general so much admiration for Trilling on the score of his intellectual acuteness that his sense of comedy has almost been overlooked. Yet it is precisely this awareness of the element of comedy in life, of the contrast between profession and reality, that enables him, for example, to strip off the alleged scientific profundity of a Kinsey report and leave the author as a bare, well-lighted, and comic figure.

In personal contacts, Trilling is approachable, humorous, and capable

of intense concentration on *your* problem, though he may give the impression of not remembering your name from day to day. Unsparing of his time while pretending to be distraught by the demands on it, he is also generous with his help. He has started many on a literary career by means of the most sanguine (and later justified) recommendations.

Horace L. Friess was one of a remarkable group in his Columbia College class of 1919, at least two of whom became his colleagues in the Department of Philosophy at Columbia. Many of his contemporaries remember him well from those days, and not least his appearance, grave and gentle, vigorous and handsome, qualities which have remained with him through the years. His contemporaries recall another quality, his deliberate, obviously thoughtful speech, with its careful phrasing, and often rephrasing. One felt, then, as his students and colleagues have felt ever since, the courteous seriousness with which he considered any idea presented to him, the conscientiousness with which he stated his own. It is not a mere chance that has taken a good part of Professor Horace Friess's time for the guidance of work in the philosophy of religion.

But religion to Professor Friess is part of general culture, and it is by choice that he has repeatedly taught a section in the Columbia College Humanities course, for it is in the widest humanistic sense that he conceives religion, and for that matter, philosophy as well. Among his professional colleagues, Friess enjoys repute as an expert in German philosophy and in problems of religion and culture. But by his students he is remembered always as something more than a widely learned man. He exhibits the moral delicacy and the human kindness of a dedicated teacher.

For a time Mark Van Doren was in the shade of his older brother, Carl. The elder Van Doren was so brilliant that wherever he was tended to be the center of the stage. As time went on, however, people began to notice that Mark owed nothing to Carl, that he was not in the least like him, except that both were men of genius, whatever one means by genius. Dr. Johnson said of Burke that a stranger meeting him in a shed where both were taking refuge from the rain would go away feeling that he had met an extraordinary man. That is the first and major effect produced by Van Doren, all the more for his own insistence that he has in him nothing of the extraordinary, that anybody can understand anything he wishes to, that anybody can teach great literature and philosophy. What he means, of course, is that anyone can who is willing to pay the Van Doren price. Surely no one would willingly be ignorant of what he talks about. Those of his colleagues who have not shared his enthusiasm for St. John's College (in part his creation) are really objecting that it is

not easy to be a Van Doren—that it is, in fact, almost impossible. He is a poet, a novelist, a scholar, *and* a great teacher. One may in fact say of him as a teacher what he says in another way of the wonders of the *Iliad*:

These things are so natural that we are tempted to think them easy, and Homer naive, a lucky poet who came early to the art. The temptation is soon conquered if we note what happens to us as we read, and to the poem; if we count the things that collect in it as forces collect to make a world, if we study—though it is hard to do this—the massive way in which so many simple units are joined to produce an effect of huge and complex order. The effort required is never mentioned, it is only made, and made with a success that deceives us.¹

Over the years students have recognized the privilege of knowing him and have flocked to his courses. His manner is so easy, his insights apparently so spontaneous and casual, that some have mistakenly thought the casualness and spontaneity to be the secret of the effectiveness. They would know better than that about a pole vaulter like Warmerdam or a racing driver like Nuvolari; it is only when they try to imitate Van Doren that they find the tour de force seems easy only in those who have mastered the difficulties.

Horace Taylor has been chairman of the Economics department in the College since the departure of Rex Tugwell for Washington in 1933. He has been so important in Columbia College, as one-time chairman of C.C., as editor and contributor to the C.C. B texts, as director of the senior seminar in economics, that many are unaware of his professional eminence apart from the College. Boris Stanfield, Michael Mirski, Oleg Hoeffding, Nian-tzu Wang, or Antonin Basch, distinguished foreign scholars he has brought to Columbia, might bear witness to his reputation abroad, but it is often true that an administrator is underestimated as a scholar. The experts know better, but economics is so marvelous a collection of odds and ends from bills of exchange to the ever-normal granary that it is almost an accident if two experts talk the same language. As the students in his senior seminar know, the language is seldom too specialized for Professor Taylor. A question may have no easy answer, but he will know what answers have been attempted, and out of the vast disorder of his library will come pamphlets, articles, books on the subject. And very likely one of the dusty pamphlets is something of 1929 or 1937 or 1940 with Horace Taylor's name on it.

Together with the powerful and persuasive Louis Hacker, now ele-

¹ Mark Van Doren, *The Noble Voice* (New York, 1946), p. 3.

vated (for his sins and merits) to the deanship of the School of General Studies, Robert Carey has been one of the mainstays of the economics work in the College, from the days when he and Horace Taylor, along with Rexford Tugwell, gave the senior seminar in economics up to the time of his present reading course in the classics of economic thought. It is in the general work of the College, however, that most of his colleagues in other departments have come to know and value him. He is an assistant to the Dean, a College representative on the University Council, a member of almost any committee with extra hard work to do, and the only begetter, mainspring, and chairman of the board of the Debate Council. Students have voted him the most popular professor, not because he has courted their esteem, but because he has helped them understandingly when they needed help.

Boris Stanfield has been since 1931 a member of the Department of Economics in Columbia College, and to most of his colleagues he seems a pleasant person with a slight accent, capable of turning a witty phrase or summing up a situation in a concise and pointed manner. Few realize that only a Hitchcock film could cover any year of Stanfield's life before 1931. In some way, he was always at the center of things just before the explosion occurred. His first Ph.D. was from the University of St. Petersburg, a long way from Tomsk, where he was born. His second Ph.D. was from Berlin. In the interim he had been a cigarette manufacturer (along with the wife of Alexander Kerensky), and he had been a reporter for Maxim Gorki's newspaper. It was as early as 1919 that Stanfield left Russia, escaping first to Wrangel's forces, and then via the British navy to Constantinople. By 1921 he was an economic adviser to W. A. Harriman, after heading a research institute in Berlin.

When Stanfield came to the United States, by invitation of Professor Taylor, he was handicapped for a time by not knowing English. He began teaching C.C. at once, however, planning his lectures carefully. He thought in Russian, translated his thoughts into German, and wrote them down in that language; then he translated the German into English and read the lectures to his students. What he had to say was important enough for the students to help him over the language barrier and in a short time he needed no help. It is a bit dangerous to talk about a man's charm of manner, but if it were not for something of that kind in Boris, he would have been dead long since. If he makes a wrong turn into a one-way street, knocking down the accusing sign on top of a concealed policeman, have no fears. This will not mean Sing Sing or Siberia; come back in twenty minutes, and you will find his car parked in front of a

convenient fireplug. Boris and the policeman will be gone, but not to court. They will be having dinner together in a good little restaurant around the corner.

For more than a score of years Columbia students have been bewildered, bedazzled, and inspired by a course which they call "Caseyology."² For many of those years they have voted it the best course. Once they insisted that their name for it be used in the College Announcement instead of Sociology. Frequently they have suggested that it be placed on the list of required subjects. No one, including the master, has attempted to reconstruct his course in handy synopses, because the understanding of it, to use one of the specialized words by which his intellectual system is expressed, is an "increment" of attendance.

William C. Casey has confounded conventional standards of professorial behavior. He is not found in faculty haunts. He does not make extracurricular speeches. He has written nothing and will not until "incubation" makes it natural and necessary. Columbia, he points out, has existed longer than the Golden Age of Greece and, in spite of (or perhaps because of) its scholastic standards, has not produced a book to compare with the enduring writings of that era.

The boy who questions, as well as the one who wants to talk more, finds Casey's door ajar and his comfortable visitor's chair available. He has no patience with the instructor who separates his learning from his teaching, attributing progress to what he and his young people have learned together. Casey has been studying the students and they have been returning the compliment since 1931. The *Columbian* of 1935 reported that he "has divided the entire College into two violently opposed camps." He will probably continue to do so. Many another professor has been called a one-in-a-million man. The Casey disciple insists that there are many one-in-a-million professors, all interesting, but only one Casey.

The Woodbridge Professor of Philosophy, John Herman Randall, Jr., has had a long association with Columbia of marked distinction from his undergraduate days. As a young instructor in Contemporary Civilization he wrote singlehanded a text, *The Making of the Modern Mind*, which, with Hayes's *Modern Europe*, constituted for many years the core of the course. It is a textbook still widely used and admired, with the peculiar distinction for a textbook of having once figured on a cover of the *New Yorker*.

² This sketch of Professor William C. Casey has been condensed from the *Columbia Alumni News*, XLI, No. 4 (January, 1950), 22.

Reticent, powerful, and dignified as he is, Randall's friends say that no one knows him who has not seen him taking apart and reassembling a balky motorboat or recalcitrant automobile. The passion of the attack, the sureness and patience with which the correct assembly is made, would, however, surprise no student who had watched his analysis of ideas and theories or his assembly of them into their context in place and time. Like most masters of language, Randall has a trenchant wit when wit is called for. When someone noticed that a certain town in Vermont had had two distinguished citizens born there, John Dewey and Atwater Kent, but that only Kent's birthplace bore a bronze plaque marking the event, Randall answered, "That's quite as it should be; Atwater Kent will *need* his plaque."

Randall's great course in the College has long been the History of Philosophy, which turns out to be just what it is called rather than an "introduction to a professor of philosophy pointing out the shortcomings of philosophies." A student who gets an A in Randall's course, one is told by those who have done it, can confidently face a graduate examination in the subject at any university of the land.

Fred Croxton has written a book on statistics so readable and interesting that even persons with little knowledge of mathematics sometimes get deep into it before they realize that they are trapped, and sometimes they study some more mathematics in order to find out what is in the rest of the book. Statistics has always been a powerful instrument for analysis and research and Croxton has so definitely improved the tool that it is not surprising to find that the heavy volume sells as well as best-seller novels.

What does surprise his colleagues is the fact that he has any time for scholarly work with the load of University work he carries on his shoulders. If Hamilton Hall or the Faculty Club is to be reconstructed, Croxton deals with the problems of space assignment and remodeling. If an interim Director of Admissions is needed, Croxton fills the post. And the task is handled so easily that one feels sorry to see him relieved of smooth-running responsibilities in the interest of his special work. To get things done without being self-important, tyrannical, or petulant, to be able to remember facts, situations, and persons with accuracy, would make for a good executive in any organization, and in Columbia College Croxton has been both an executive and a scholar.

Another born executive is to be found, as was suggested earlier, in Nicholas McD. McKnight, Dean of Students. As assistant to Dean Hawkes, he learned to handle high-pressure activity and to record the

results. In the roaring thirties, he learned to deal with youthful firebrands, some of them fanatically honest, some of them pathologically dishonest, but all determined to make the New York headlines, either as martyrs or as reformers. While other people got excited or angry, McKnight would calmly take his time getting the facts together, looking up the record, or checking the allegations. When he had finished, the story was generally not worth a headline in any responsible journal.

No less important was his function as a sort of father confessor to the student who had gotten himself into difficulties—social, moral, or financial. He was never horrified or shocked by adolescent storm and stress, though any really rotten branch would be lopped off in fairly short order. Over the years he has set the tone for the whole advisory pattern of the College.

As has been said, the importance to an undergraduate college of the senior tutor—the man who deals with the student as an individual—is high. Much of this work is done by the advisers, and the difference between an able adviser and an incompetent one may mean a great deal in the student's whole life pattern. Anyone who has watched George Nobbe, for instance, handle premedical students soon becomes aware of why it is that so high a proportion of his seniors are placed in good medical schools. Medicine requires a sense of vocation, certain human traits, and certain abilities. It is not a racket, nor even primarily a profitable profession, and the student who sees it in those terms, or is pushed into it by parents who do, should have his views corrected without loss of time. This requires patience, sympathy, and understanding on the part of the adviser. Many premedical freshmen should be something else. To find what that something else is, and to help the student choose it of his own free will, is the task of the adviser. Every new man who gets into the College of Physicians and Surgeons or Harvard Medical from Columbia College is welcome because for twenty-five years the medical advisers have warranted their men sound and the warranty has stood up. The pattern was originally set by Garfield Powell, but the work has for some years been carried by other advisers, particularly by Charles Dawson and George Nobbe.

A similar kindness and sympathy is needed in the handling of courses in creative writing, and here again Nobbe has been effective. To the skilled writer, the yeasty bubblings of the adolescent brew are likely to be as unpleasant as a vat of two-week-old grape must. To the vintage master, however, differences are evident even at that point, and if wine is a living thing, subject to change, youth is incredibly so. To elicit the

strength, to purge off the grossness, the vanity, the narcissism, the aggressiveness, without destroying the person, is no easy thing.

George Hibbitt's interest, like Tassin's, was originally in the drama, though he was critic rather than performer. His interest in speech, in consequence, was scientific rather than elocutionary, and he early saw the advantage of the motion-picture sound track with its mountain-range profile for the analysis of speech defects and difficulties. When he added the recording instruments and playbacks so that the student could hear his own voice, he found himself inundated by waves of applicants for assistance. Tassin had told them that they were bad, but Hibbitt demonstrated it to them without comment, with the result that he now requires the assistance of three full-time instructors to carry on the work. It is not surprising that when the Navy submarine command wanted to make sure that a Texas order would be heard correctly by a Maine geartender, Hibbitt was brought in to analyze and correct the sound pattern of the traditional orders.

James Gutmann, now chairman of the Department of Philosophy, is a lover of wisdom. He was one of those who revised the General Honors course under the new title of Colloquium on Important Books, and for some years he was in charge of that course. At a later period he was administrative chairman of Humanities A, and it was there that his practical wisdom was most in demand. Dramatic figures like Weaver and Kinne clashed with stern scholars like Highet and Hadas over what could or could not be done; youthful instructors got bored with Homer and wanted some Dostoevski; but Gutmann rode the waves with serenity and a curious managerial skill that never allowed frivolity to triumph over learning. Everyone had his say, there never seemed to be a ruling from the chair, but somehow ill-considered proposals died or were postponed or evaporated in words.

Gutmann has gone deep into German idealism but was never drowned in it, for what he is really interested in is ethics, and to the study of ethics he has devoted the later part of his life. If the affection of his colleagues and students is of any value as evidence, one is entitled to suppose that he has found, at least for his own use, an ethical system that never fails.

Moses Hadas made his collegiate reputation as one of the brilliant instructors in General Honors, later the Colloquium. It was a rough life in which the young instructor had to survive under the battering of such superdreadnoughts as Rex Tugwell, Mark Van Doren, Raymond Weaver, and Mortimer Adler. Professor Hadas, who is a classicist and of natively shy disposition, never toughened under the blows but stood them

as if they were the playful irrelevancies of amiable barbarians. A Greek scholar can always deal with barbarians in just that way and never seem superior. It was soon clear to Hadas's students that he knew all there was to know about the ancient languages and literatures, including the Hebrew and Arabic. He was a prolific scholar, a translator from the German, and a man who always had enough time to discuss anything of humane interest with the demanding young. With his colleague and teaching partner, Ted Westbrook, he gave to the College scene a new dimension, and he peopled this added space with figures he knew how to make real. The world was not "modern," and reason had not been invented twenty years ago: there was Plato and Tacitus and Marcus Aurelius and, even more than these well-known names, a whole troop of more obscure ancients who had written novels and—some of them—naughty poems. Hadas knew them all and could tell you about them as if he had just met them at a faculty meeting.

It is difficult to represent adequately some of the men who were important in the development of the College but whose major work has been done elsewhere, sometimes in more dramatic situations. McGoldrick, Tugwell, Woolsey Cole, and Alan Brown are significant figures, and the same abilities which have made their names now public property were once at work in the service of the College.

Gilbert Highet was very important in the early days of Humanities A. Some pedantic classical scholars were then inclined to sniff at the idea of reading widely in the classics, in translation, under the guidance of instructors not all of whom were classicists. Highet united the best of the Scottish and of the Oxford traditions in such matters, and he was a tower of strength to the Humanities group. He considered the Humanities program an experiment, as did all of us, but he was determined that the experiment be given a fair trial, and he was himself one of the most energetic of teachers and colleagues in the course as long as his University responsibilities rendered it possible for him to serve. He really belongs in the contemporary scene rather than in this historical sketch, but the same thing is true of many more.

What is one to say of the next generation in the College, of Andrew Chiappe and Quentin Anderson and Charles Frankel and Justus Buchler and Donald Frame—to name only those of whose power and ability one is certain from direct acquaintance. What is to be said of Polycarp Kusch in Physics and Walter C. Strodt in Mathematics and Fred S. Keller in Psychology and Francis J. Ryan in Zoology and Charles R. Dawson in Organic Chemistry—men of whose work one knows nothing except

when golden words are spoken of it by students appreciative enough of a humane handling of scientific matters to talk about it with an English professor. On the whole, Columbia College students express their admiration of a course after they have had it—not while they are taking it.

Simply running over the names of the men one knew best brings home the hopelessness of any individual attempt to comprehend an institution so much larger than the person who is looking at it. How can a historian or a writer judge the importance to Columbia of a figure like Professor Armin K. Lobeck, for example. It is only when he learns from a newspaper that the landing in North Africa is made with Lobeck's maps that he senses dimly how large a subject geology is. He watches the leaves change to scarlet in the fall but learns again only from the papers that Professor Edwin Matzke, with whom he has served on committees, has spent years studying the vast chemical and physical series involved in that change of color and may be said to *understand* it. In other words, we of the Faculty know most of our colleagues, as far as accomplishment is concerned, only on the most vulgar level, what can be described to the mass audience by the press. We do not encounter them, for the most part, on the level on which their students are privileged to know them. And so, too, this account lays too much stress on the picturesque, the striking, the witty, or the flamboyant, while loyal service, quiet efficiency, and deep thought may pass unnoticed. The important thing is that they do not pass unnoticed by the students, in whose service they work and pass their lives.

Charles Everett [if the editor may seize the pen from the narrator's fingers], who has taught English at Columbia since 1924 and now heads the College wing of the department, has so strong a respect for the variety and power of the achievements of others that even his friends scarcely see him as a person distinct from his delighted perception of someone or something else. He lives much of the time in an atmosphere of discovery and celebration, reserving his scorn for those who have let something humanly valuable slip from sight. He finds a good many persons of this order and holds them strictly to account, but those who have not failed or funk'd their responsibilities find that his gruffness is superficial and his charity wide. He belongs, one imagines, to the class of instinctive Aristotelians, who seek to know things according to their kinds, in order to equip themselves for that disposing judgment of literature, history; and men which is the fruit of such varied and quietly energetic careers as Professor Everett's. He has done and enjoyed many things, from firing

boilers to acting as interpreter between the United States and Britain for the War Department.

He is known here and abroad as the pre-eminent authority on Jeremy Bentham's multifarious and influential work in philosophy and law, but he wears such distinctions lightly, preferring to put himself at the service of his students and the College. Perhaps because of this capacity to put himself in the background and his work in the foreground, he has, on any academic occasion, the authority of dedication. Professor Everett can, however, sound no less authoritative when he details, with a Puritan's gusto, the arduous pleasures of preparing and consuming a bear stew or of installing a universal joint in one of that succession of noble, though not quite practicable, motorcars he has lovingly tended through the years. To enjoy things according to their kinds, to make connections between them, to range from the steeliest fact to the most intricate of literary experiences, and to communicate all these things makes up the substance of a very full life, both within and without the College.

IV

AFTER CLASS

by Fon W. Boardman, Jr.

“EVIDENCES of the nature of the student life of Columbia in the past are at once most difficult to find and most unsatisfactory when obtained.” So wrote Philip E. Brodt, '97, in the December, 1898, issue of the *Columbia University Quarterly*, little more than a year after Columbia moved to Morningside Heights. He lamented further: “In no books or series of articles . . . can one find direct evidence from which to build anew the student life of former days.”

Mr. Brodt did not state the difficulty in detail, but he seems to have been aware of its character. First is the factual problem. Undergraduates usually are not historically-minded. They live in their own present tense. They write—whether in 1903 or 1953—for their friends and contemporaries. They expect no one to miss the sly allusion to “good old Joe.” A simple listing of the members of a club will evoke, for at least half a century, perfectly clear recollections on the part of those members of just what they did in the academic year 1904-5. Perhaps undergraduates of all eras should be honored for their modesty in not feeling they are making history every time the Chess Club meets. On the other hand, when one tries to reconstruct the life and good times of a particular organization, one wishes that a professional journalist—or at least a Ph.D. candidate in history—had been around at the right time to record the story for future journalists and historians.

The 1902 *Columbian*, for example, lists, for the first time so far as we

can discover, the Automobile Club. H. R. Worthington, '03, was "president and captain." The club had nine members. But that is all the *Columbian* tells us. What make or makes of car did they drive? Where did they drive and how many miles per hour did they average? How many miles did they get on a gallon of gasoline? These facts, however unimportant, are lost forever.

The second problem in writing of student activities is one of spirit, of feeling, even one of "time-travel," as the science-fiction writers would put it. No King's Crown activities, no social affairs of the past or the future are ever as well run or as exciting as those of one's own four years. And yet, when one has to face the problem of writing about such activities—some of them before, others after, one's own time—one begins to wonder and to become reluctant to judge and compare, let alone attempt to say, how undergraduates of other years really felt, thought, and acted. Did they, for instance, take *Spectator* more or less seriously than do today's undergraduates? Did those who were not the editors of *Columbian* think it was a good or bad job?

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

Athletic and nonathletic activities and social affairs have been a part of Columbia almost since its founding. Whether encouraged, discouraged, or ignored by the faculty, Columbia's students, like their fellows elsewhere, have tended to band together through common interest and daily association in order to carry out certain activities in which they found enjoyment. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and the other aspects of a liberal education have never been sufficient mental and physical nourishment for undergraduates. The classroom and the textbook are only a part of a college education.

President Nicholas Murray Butler took official note of this truth when he wrote in his report for 1908-9:

The last generation has seen grow up in every college community a great body of student activities, interesting and beneficial in themselves, springing from the social instincts and ambitions of the students. . . . All this has grown up outside of the formal program of studies, and yet it represents an educational influence which is very genuine. The fact that these undertakings and organizations exist wherever students are brought together in a community of their own seems to prove that they are the natural forms for the expression of undergraduate interest and activity. The time has come when the College Faculty should take note of the existence of these educational forces at their very door and should attach proper weight and importance to them. . . .

It is not enough to reply that these undertakings lie outside the formal program of studies. That is only to say that the formal program of studies is itself too narrow and does not touch all sides of the student's life and spur on all of his ambitions. Perhaps if the colleges were to take more interest in what the student likes to do out of class and would show some appreciation of his success in that field, he in turn would reciprocate by following his teachers and guides more eagerly into the intellectual paths of enjoyment and training whither they would lead him.

Whatever the official attitude in 1897 (and, again, one finds little in the way of record and less of the "feel" of the situation), a fair variety of non-athletic activities existed at the 49th Street site just before the move to Morningside. Philolexian had been founded in 1802 and Peithologian in 1806, although like all student organizations they had the knack of being alive one year and seemingly dead the next. *Columbian*, founded in 1864, was the oldest publication. The *Columbia Spectator* was founded in 1877 and the *Columbia Literary Monthly* in 1892. The *Morningside* ("published every third Tuesday") was in existence, as was the *School of Mines Quarterly* and the *Columbia Medical News*. Debating had long been an honored activity, and theatricals, both serious and frivolous, occupied student interest, time, and talent. Musical organizations seem to have abounded, with not only the equivalent of the modern Glee Club but also a Banjo Club and a Mandolin Club. The first fraternity chapter had been organized in 1836 (Alpha Delta Phi). Psi Upsilon was on the campus by 1842, as was something called Axe and Coffin. In 1897 there were fourteen houses. And it should be kept in mind that in the year of the move uptown the College student body totaled only 335.

It is difficult now to sense the feeling of adventure of 1897. The newly named Morningside Heights was way uptown, and it was just that year that Grant's Tomb was completed. The undergraduates were getting away from the distracting city; they would be on their own and thrown together for better or for worse.

Whatever the Trustees, faculty, townspeople, and students expected in 1897 from the move of Columbia to Morningside Heights, the undergraduates interested in activities saw in it two great boons. An editorial in the *Columbia Literary Monthly* for November, 1897, pointed out the first benefit. "The most direct manner in which the changed conditions due to the removal may be expected to affect the students in particular is through the unifying influence it will have upon them. . . . The chief influence of college life lies in the fact that it is college life."

The second anticipated boon was more tangible and more practical,

although the leaders of activities would not have believed then that it would be still incompletely granted over half a century later. The College undergraduates of 1897 looked forward to better physical facilities: a "college hall," dormitories, and a student center.

As early as 1894, President Seth Low, in writing of the dozen most pressing physical needs of the new campus, listed a gymnasium third (after the library and a "natural science" building), a dining hall fourth, a "School of Arts" sixth, and a "Society Hall" eleventh. Thus a student center was next to last on his list, and dormitories were not mentioned. But Low did say: "We ought to have a hall which should be the centre of the social life of the students, in which the literary societies could hold their meetings, the musical clubs, and all the many societies that make so large a part of student life in an American university."

The student center, of course, has still to materialize. Hamilton Hall, for College classes, was completed in 1907, after the campus to the north had sprouted an extensive crop of buildings, dedicated in spirit to the great university-to-be. And the first dormitory, Hartley Hall, was completed in 1905, the result of a special gift.

In these days when the majority of the student body of most colleges (Columbia still excepted) lives in dormitories, it is difficult to appreciate the eagerness shown for this mode of life by the College undergraduates as the time for moving to Morningside neared. It must be remembered that a century had passed since Columbia men had last studied and lived "in the collegiate way" in the original building just south of Murray Street. In the 1890's there was the feeling that Columbia College would be another Oxford or Cambridge if only the students lived a communal life on the campus. Dormitories might provide not only a center of social life and a center of student activities but, as the students themselves seemed to recognize, a community of spirit and interest which, in its intangible way, would make always memorable the fleeting undergraduate years.

On the subject of dormitories, much was said but little done at moving time. The December, 1898, *Columbia University Quarterly* reported that the majority of the Trustees favored the idea of dormitories, and pointed out that they were needed for "college life" and the "community of scholars." At that time the area on 120th Street between Broadway and Amsterdam Avenue was suggested as a site and plans were drawn. There would be four buildings constructed on the general pattern of Oxford residence halls, with no long corridors and with fireplaces in some of the suites. Each building would be five stories high, would house 100 stu-

dents, and would cost \$164,000. The Trustees approved the idea, but nothing further happened.

In 1900 someone proposed a plan for a dormitory to be built by a private stock company at 116th Street and Amsterdam Avenue and the Trustees again approved. "Pleasant indeed," commented the *Quarterly*, "will be the lot of the student whose home is far away, when he is no longer compelled to exist in the unsatisfactory and generally uncongenial atmosphere of the Harlem boarding-house." Once again, nothing happened. By 1903 it was suggested that dormitories be built on South Field and that they be centers of social life, perhaps run like clubs. In one of his first reports, that for 1901-2, President Butler had come out on the side of the angels:

To provide, particularly for undergraduate students, those influences and advantages which attach to student residence in college buildings means the erection of dormitories.

The living together of college students is that characteristic of college education which marks it off most sharply from secondary instruction. Students in college are, or ought to be, figuratively at least, away from home and members of a community of their own. College life and college spirit are real things as well as most effective educational instrumentalities. It is living together, not attending classes or listening to lectures together, which develops that strong attachment to Alma Mater, its ideals and its interests, which counts for so much both in the life of the individual student and in that of the University.

And, in the Butlerian manner, he added: "It should always be borne in mind that a dormitory is the one type of building used by a university from which an income may be derived."

At the 1903 Commencement the gift of Hartley Hall was announced, and on October 31, 1904 (Columbia's one hundred and fiftieth anniversary), the cornerstones of Hartley and Livingston were laid. The homeless era was ended, but even so the dormitories remained individual living quarters, with practically no provision for social life. Agitation for a "College Hall" therefore continued during the early days at Morning-side. Many already felt that Columbia College was in effect moving to the new home of Columbia University. Certainly there was no immediate provision in the plans for a building which would be the physical and intellectual home of the College students and the College faculty. As early as December, 1897, the *Columbia Literary Monthly* published an editorial on the need for such a building, pointing out that everything Columbia had stemmed from the College, which gave it "life and blood."

In 1900 the College alumni voted to establish a fund for a College Hall, and the next year a plan was proposed which would have put the building on the site of the present School of Business and given space in its basement for student social and other activities. The College finally got its academic home when Hamilton Hall was opened in 1907, but the problem of adequate quarters for social and extracurricular activities remained as pressing as ever.

Reconciled to the absence of dormitories, the *Monthly* was still enthusiastic in that great autumn of 1897: "We need mention no more than the entire floor in one of the buildings which has been set apart for the offices of the literary periodicals, and places of meeting for literary societies and other organizations which, under the old regime, were for the most part without any permanent and suitable quarters whatever." The reference was to West Hall, one of the old Bloomingdale buildings which stood between Low Memorial Library and the School of Engineering and which was not razed until 1913. In the meantime it sheltered a variety of activities, including the University barber shop.

As the first academic year uptown ended, the *Monthly* again commented on the new attitude: "You will see the athlete and the debater, the grind and the member of the faculty, standing side by side in the Field, watching a game of baseball." The new spirit was also seen in the crowd that turned out for the debate with the University of Chicago. There were cheers when Columbia won.

The next year, 1899, there was further cause for rejoicing. The Department of Music moved out of West Hall and the student publications took over the basement. The *Columbia University Quarterly's* commentator saw possibilities ahead:

The resultant gain to the student life of the University is considerable and further gains will doubtless be made whenever the restaurant can be removed to a more suitable and adequate building; but it is not to be expected that suitable social conditions of undergraduate life will ever be secured until we have a building planned for this purpose and devoted to the use of the students. While it cannot properly be considered the duty of the University to provide such a building, the Trustees have fully recognized its extreme desirability.

This "extreme desirability" continued to be pointed out and agitated for. Twenty-five years later, for example, the *Columbia Alumni News* was still preaching the need for a building, not just for activities, but to build the "whole man" whom the educators had recently rediscovered. And after another thirty years *Spectator* would still complain (March,

1953): "The president and the Trustees declare time and time again that a recreation and social center for the students of Columbia College is imperative, and it continues to remain just that."

THE FLOWERING OF MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS

Not only the psychological effect of the move itself but also the stimulus of an expanding enrollment contributed to the quickening of after-class activities at the new site. Man power has often been one of the greatest problems of student organizations. By 1902 there were 495 undergraduates, 160 more than in the first year on the Heights.

It is not surprising, then, that with one exception all of today's organizations—or at least all types of Columbia's present undergraduate organizations—came into being before the new century was ten years old. And the one exception had to wait upon technological progress: it was the Radio Club. King's Crown, although starting out as a general club with intellectual interests, before evolving into the central organization of all activities, was founded in 1898. So was Nacoms (Sachems was added in 1915). *Jester's* first issue appeared, appropriately, on April 1, 1901. The Band dates from 1904. Blue Pencil was organized in 1906; Boar's Head in 1909. Although student government had existed at 49th Street, the present system can be dated from 1907–8 when the Board of Student Representatives was reorganized and revitalized with a new constitution.

Along the way, as has always been true, many special interest groups, some serious, some frivolous, have risen, bloomed, and withered. Around the turn of the century there was a Gun Club, a Southern Club, a Stuffers Club, and several others, including the Potters Field Club whose purpose was "to ascertain the presence of amoeba . . . in New York beer." In 1903 a Whist Team was organized to play Yale. On the more serious side were the Deutscher Verein (1898) and the Société Française, already described in 1899 as the "oldest of all of the new special clubs that have sprung up in the atmosphere of Morningside Heights." Its production of *La Bataille des Dames* in 1899 was the first play in French ever presented at Columbia.

Whatever the devotees of other activities may think, in any account of the after-class life of Columbia undergraduates first place must be given to *Spectator*—if only because it has published more issues, printed more words, and carried more information—and misinformation—than any other student publication. Other activities do things, but *Spectator's* doing of things consists in reporting what the others are doing.

If the move to Morningside was responsible of itself for the growth of

student activities, then *Spectator* is the best index to that growth. In its early days *Spectator* was more a literary magazine than a newspaper, but a year before the big move it became a weekly and was turning more and more to news instead of belles-lettres. By 1899 it had become a semi-weekly. The *Quarterly* noted in March of that year that "perhaps the most important event of the year at Columbia, in the sphere of undergraduate activity, is the reorganization of *Spectator* in anticipation of that change into a daily which now seems certain of accomplishment in the immediate future." The editors were attempting to cover the news of the whole University, and apparently felt, as the *Quarterly* reported, that the lack of dormitories was the only thing that kept them from having enough news for daily publication.

In the fall of 1902 the great day came and *Spectator* appeared as a daily newspaper. This it has remained, except for the recent war years. The change in frequency of publication was accompanied by a change of format, so that *Spectator* came to look like a newspaper rather than a magazine. It also became more collegiate, stressing sports and College spirit. The first daily issue carried a front page, play-by-play description of the football game with Rutgers, which Columbia had won, 43-0. Editorially, *Spectator* wanted every College student out on the sidelines and cheering. When football was abolished in late 1905, *Spectator* published a black-bordered mourning issue with its first "scare headline"—the one word ABOLISHED spread over two columns. A campaign for the reinstatement of football was begun immediately, but bore no fruit for ten years.

In this period *Spec* had its own printing plant, took in job printing, and showed a profit of around \$1,000 a year. Among the early managers were V. K. Wellington Koo, '09, and Frank D. Fackenthal, '06. The paper went from four to six, and then to eight, pages, appeared six times a week, took pride in reviewing plays the morning after they opened, whether on or off campus, and still had room left to run the complete University telephone directory.

The first regular column, "Between Lectures," began in 1909, and the still famous "Off-Hour" column in 1913. (" '38,462 doctors,' says a subway ad, 'have ordered Nujol for constipation.' And we, in our ignorance, never dreamed there were so many doctors with constipation.") "The Stroller" first appeared in 1916. Among its early conductors was Bennett A. Cerf, '20.

Until the fall of 1914, *Spectator* was rather old-fashioned in its typography and headlines. Then it changed from four to five columns and

displayed a greater variety of headlines. In the meantime, it had moved from West Hall when that relic was torn down to University Hall, which quite promptly burned down. *Spec* went temporarily to Journalism and later to the Hamilton Hall Annex.

By then World War I was being fought in Europe, but *Spec*, in common with most of the nation, found little news in it. The big news in 1915 was the return of football and the "great new wave of College spirit which has swept the University." By 1916, though, "preparedness" was news, pacifism was no longer popular editorially, and by September, 1917, printing costs had gone up so much that the size of the paper had to be reduced. The establishment of an R.O.T.C. unit was hailed, and such things as Liberty Loan drives were enthusiastically supported.

Columbian, even older than *Spectator*, changed considerably, too, in the early years at Morningside. It was then a Junior rather than a Senior Yearbook, appearing in December of the academic year. Its general tone was that of mock heroics, combined with long lists of names—those of the participants in every organization, though it was short on factual accounts of what those organizations did. Having merged in 1890 with the *Miner*, it covered the year not only of the College but also of the School of Applied Science.

Until the 1904 issue, the *Columbian* format was "horizontal" in keeping with the style of souvenir books of the time. There were few "action" photographs in the early years, but they increased as the decade wore on. Original drawings by students were an important part of its make-up, and in 1899 the *Quarterly* observed that they were, as usual, the "most attractive feature." As is perennially true, girls were the favorite subject of the drawings, and in this period, as might be expected, they were all Gibson girls.

Notable in the 1904 *Columbian* was the 1902 Class Ode, words to be sung to the music of the Austrian national anthem. The ode was entitled "Stand, Columbia," and its author was Gilbert Oakley Ward, '02.

Two other periodicals flourished—the *Columbia Literary Monthly* and *Morningside*. Although it looks old-fashioned by today's standards, the *Monthly* seemed to take a lively and modern interest in the whole College, rather than in the thoughts of the avant-garde, as later happened. In March, 1899, the *Quarterly* said of *Morningside* that it had "largely increased its popularity of late" with a series of "Imaginary Lectures," parodies of the styles of various professors. The next year the *Monthly* praised the football team as helping the whole school, a point of view which in another generation would be heretical.

In February, 1904, these two publications merged as the *Columbia Monthly*, but they still differed from the college literary magazine as we know it today. The first combined issue had a cover drawn by Rockwell Kent, '07, an article by Dr. Butler, an article on the student days of Alexander Hamilton, 1774, and a piece on the football season. The *Monthly* in these days was even trying to cover alumni news, there being no alumni publication at that time. In the issue for February, 1906, the hope was expressed that such a publication would come into being.

Within another year the editors of the *Monthly* were commenting on the lack of interest in literary activities. They were talking of *Jester's* troubles, which were those of most intellectual enterprises. Support, said the editors, "for the past few years has been but a very slender thread." Yet who would not envy the men of 1908 when one learns from a financial report rendered by Wellington Koo when he resigned as business manager of the *Monthly* that it cost about \$70 to print an issue of forty pages.

Jester was the first new publication born on Morningside. The first editor, Walter H. Grace, '01, admitted that *Jester* would try to be like its counterparts already in existence at Yale, Harvard, and Princeton. It succeeded. Brooks Brothers had an advertisement in that very first issue. The jokes were just as funny as those in today's college humor magazines. (An early "he-she" joke: "She: 'Did the Sophomores do much hazing at Columbia during the June examinations?' He: 'No; but the soft-coal smoke did.'") The drawings of girls were still copied from Gibson. The cartoon styles—and much of the writing—were copied from the old *Life* and *Judge*. (An early cartoon showed a painter on a scaffold, a man below, and paint falling. Man below says: "Hey! What's the matter up there—you deaf and dumb?" Painter says: "Sure, don't you see me makin' signs?")

From the beginning, *Jester* editorialized also, but felt, as it still does, that serious thoughts in a humor magazine must be presented satirically or, as it thinks, cynically. Here is evidence also of a good old American (and Columbia) tradition: attacks on other publications and activities. In 1910, for example, *Jester* labeled a *Spectator* editorial "inane and offensive" because it did not take a strong enough stand against the abolition of football.

The individuals at the top in any given year or era in any activity, particularly publications, naturally set the tone (politely known as "editorial policy"). Whether they reflect majority or minority student opinion on a given question is difficult if not impossible to determine. Perhaps it

doesn't matter. Looking back and using the reading of random samples of various student publications as evidence, it appears, somewhat oddly, that *Jester* became more "socially conscious," or "radical" if you prefer, sooner than others. In the fall of 1915, for example, *Jester* attacked Student Board (called "Prudent Board" in the editorial) for removing some Socialist Club posters which showed cobwebs all over the campus. A year later the devotees of humor supported the dormitory maids' strike for more pay. The maids lost.

Dramatics and music—and such combinations of the two as operetta and musical comedy—had been favorite activities of Columbia students at 49th Street. And the familiar story of increased interest after the move to Morningside can be told in this field too. A "comic operetta," written and acted entirely by undergraduates, was presented for the first time five years before the shift to Morningside and it soon became an annual event under the title Varsity Show. The management of the productions, before the establishment of the Players' Club in 1904, was successively in the hands of The Strollers, the Musical Society, and King's Crown. For more than fifty years now, even those who have stoutly advanced the cause of *Spectator* as the most important nonathletic activity have usually admitted that the most glamorous activity is Varsity Show. Each year's show blooms in public for a few brief days and disappears, but a true Varsity Show man is on stage, mentally and spiritually, every day of the academic year.

The first great success was *The Governor's Vrouw*, of 1900, which ran for a whole week at the Carnegie Lyceum and then went over to Brooklyn for one performance at the Academy of Music. What professional producer a few years later would have turned down a show that had Melville Cane, '00, as co-author of the book, John Erskine, '00, as composer, and William C. De Mille, '00, in the cast? Glamour still surrounds the 1904 show, too. That was *The Isle of Illusia*, book by Roi Cooper Megrue, '03, and lyrics by one Roscoe C. Gaige, '03, better known a few years later as Crosby Gaige. In the cast were Philip Moeller, '04, and Kenneth Webb, '06. The "leading lady," as he had been the previous two years and would be the next year to establish a still unequalled record, was Raphael K. Wuppermann, '04, a favorite of the whole country later and for many years under the name of Ralph Morgan.

This 1904 show, incidentally, not only played an engagement in Montclair, New Jersey, but also made \$600, half of which it gave to a financially harassed varsity crew! It was not uncommon in those days for such activities, then relatively well off, to contribute from their regular profits

to keep Columbia athletic activities going. The *Columbia Monthly*, praising Varsity Show in 1908, reported that the boys did it to raise money for athletics and to have fun.

Those happy financial days are gone, but at the same time the *Monthly* discussed one Varsity Show problem which seems never to have been solved: should the female roles be played by men or by women? The *Monthly* audaciously suggested Barnard girls but felt constrained to admit: "We are well aware of the supercilious attitude of disdain which the Columbia man is wont to assume whenever the name of Barnard College is mentioned." And so it went until the time drew near for the United States to enter World War I. Oscar Hammerstein II, '16, made his debut in the 1915 show, *On Your Way*, and the New York *Evening World* said flatly, "He danced like Al Jolson." The next year Herman J. Mankiewicz, '17, contributed the book and lyrics, and in 1917 Hammerstein co-authored the book and lyrics of the still remembered *Home, James*.

During most of this period there was also the Sophomore Show, given in December, which played downtown at such places as the Carnegie Lyceum and the old Waldorf-Astoria.

No one knows when four Columbia College students first got the urge to sing as a quartet. Formal organization of those who wanted to raise their voices or play their instruments came at least twenty years before Morningside. By 1897 there was a Philharmonic Society which gave concerts, while other musical souls congregated in the Glee, Banjo, and Mandolin clubs. During Christmas week, 1898, this combination made a trip to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. The next year they made another trip, adding Scranton, Syracuse, and Binghamton to their itinerary, but the tour was "again financially disastrous." Yet again in 1901 a concert was given at Poughkeepsie the night before the regatta.

In 1904 a songbook was issued which published for the first time some Columbia songs still popular today. There was "Stand, Columbia," "Who Owns New York" (under the title "We Are the Stuff"), and "Sans Souci," lyrics by Percy Fridenberg, '86. The first interclass singing contest was held in May, 1910, on South Court. The "Columbia Drinking Song" and the "Marching Song" date from this era, when downtown concerts by the Columbia University Chorus were frequent and intercollegiate Glee Club concerts were held in Carnegie or Town Hall.

Although vocal music thrived in this period, Columbia bands made very little noise. None appeared until 1904, and that was a thing of the season only, consisting of eight musicians, six of whom wore derbies in the photograph which immortalizes them. Their moment of triumph

came at the Columbia-Cornell football game, played at what was then the ball park of the New York entry in the American League and what is now the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center. The Columbia victory, 12-6, gave the band strength to parade all the way back to the campus and then to the undergraduate hangout of the day, the Lion Cafe at 110th Street and Broadway, for sustenance.

It was not until 1913 that largely through the efforts of Walter W. Dwyer, '15, another band was organized. The call for candidates brought out one hundred amateur musicians but, so it is alleged, ninety-nine of them were cornet players. Even so, a band was established and within a year it accompanied the basketball team to Yale and Penn and the crew to Poughkeepsie.

Besides the various activities which can be catalogued under the general headings of publications, dramatics, and music, there have always been a variety of other organizations with many different purposes in life. Foremost among such organizations is the Debating Club, or Union, as it has also been known. In fact, while debating is still a highly respected activity, it probably has never equalled the prestige it enjoyed just about the time the 49th Street site was abandoned. The first intercollegiate debate for Columbia was in 1897. In March of that year the Debating Union met the Harvard Forum and won, sustaining the question: "Resolved, That the present method of electing U.S. Senators is preferable to election by popular vote."

A year later Columbia met the University of Chicago in a forensic clash at Madison Square Concert Hall, President Low presiding. Columbia had the negative and won on the question: "Resolved, That the policy of increasing the U.S. Navy is wise and should be continued." Two of Columbia's representatives were Morris Ernst, '99, and Joseph M. Proskauer, '96.

Such events prompted the *Columbia University Bulletin* to remark in June, 1898: "There can be little doubt that in recent years debating has acquired a new and important place in college affairs, not only at Columbia but at all the larger universities and colleges of the country. A victory in the forum nowadays brings to the contestants distinction no less real or less gratifying than a victory in the field." Significantly, this followed an editorial on the need for coaching. The success of bicycling, debating, and fencing was attributed to coaching, and in football "efficient coaching is an absolute necessity." Columbia had no such thing but probably would in the coming fall.

Among other organizations, Boar's Head is a name known to thousands

of alumni, regardless of what it may have signified in their particular era. It came into being when John Erskine returned to the campus in 1909 as a faculty member. The group met once a month for literary discussion and it was Dixon Ryan Fox, '11, who christened it. Among its first members were Randolph Bourne, '12, Alfred A. Knopf, '12, and Lloyd Morris, '14.

To some, an even more esoteric activity than any literary organization is the Chess Club. But it, too, is by no means a newcomer, and like debating its prestige is now higher, perhaps, than at any time since the turn of the century. As long ago as the spring of 1899 Columbia men joined Harvard, Yale, and Princeton students in making up a team to compete against a visiting Oxford-Cambridge outfit. The chaps from overseas won.

While individual activities were expanding or being founded, the one that was to develop into the central organization, giving stimulus and coordination to all group enterprises, was beginning modestly as a small literary circle. King's Crown was founded in 1898, when Professor George Edward Woodberry suggested to his students that they get together regularly, twice a month. One of these meetings was held in a classroom to hear an address by some distinguished literary figure, such as William Dean Howells, or John LaFarge, or Thomas Wentworth Higginson. After the talk, everyone adjourned to the College Tavern (where Union Theological Seminary stands today) for beer and pretzels and talk with the guest of honor. The second meeting each month was less formal, starting right in at the Tavern with a keg of beer in the middle of the room.

King's Crown prospered from the start. By late 1899 it had a library of 500 volumes in the basement of Fayerweather Hall. Soon there was a president, six vice-presidents, a council, and 150 members. By 1901 King's Crown deliberately laid more stress on social life, attempting to promote College spirit through singing and cheering. It became a general College club, open to all except freshmen. For a time it took over the management of Varsity Show, and by 1903 was considering the establishment of a system of awards for participation in activities. The first of these awards, eight gold insignia, were presented in 1904. King's Crown continued to change from an activity in itself toward its status as a central office uniting all nonathletic activities as constituents. A major reorganization took place in 1913, and the present regular system of awards began in 1917.

Student government of greater or less responsibility has a long tradition at Columbia: a Board of Student Representatives was already in

existence in 1897. In those days, though, and for some years, it was a University rather than a College group, with members representing Mines and Law as well, one of the Law representatives being Harlan Fiske Stone, '98L. Responsibility for the conduct of students as individuals was stressed more in those days than later. Hazing, for example, was a major concern of student government in 1905. As President Butler wrote in his annual report for 1904-5: "At Columbia there is no elaborate code of regulations to govern the conduct of students. There is but one rule, and that is to treat students as gentlemen and to expect them to behave as such." When some students did not behave like gentlemen in the matter of hazing, Dr. Butler asked Student Board to consider the problem and to make recommendations on disciplinary action for this and other kinds of ungentlemanly action, including cheating in exams.

The present system of self-government under the Board of Student Representatives stems from April, 1908, when a completely new constitution was approved by the University Council. This clearly indicated three main fields of action: (1) to encourage and regulate student activities, with special emphasis on the classes and on interclass affairs; (2) to take rather broad responsibility and authority in matters concerning the conduct of students; and (3) to act as spokesman for the students to the administration. Membership, both as to number and qualifications, and methods of election have changed from time to time, but not in any fundamental way.

A model of an annual Student Board report can be found in the August 9, 1912, issue of the *Columbia Alumni News*, contributed by the chairman, Warner C. Pyne, '12. The problems and crises that year's Board dealt with seem neither new nor old but reassuringly normal. The Board supervised the Freshman-Sophomore Rush; it "reformed" the system of electing managers of both athletic and nonathletic activities: it found the towels in the washrooms of the University unsanitary and succeeded in getting the Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds to do something about it; it cracked down on the Glee and Mandolin clubs for their alleged inefficiency; and it had two fights with the Registrar's office—winning both of them!

Through the years there have been some activities, more or less formally organized, which might be termed athletic in spirit though not in form. The Cane Spree contest between freshmen and sophomores was held for the first time in 1897. A description of the art of trying to wrest a stick of wood away from an opponent is as difficult as the process itself. Older than this was the Perideipnon, or "funeral feast," established by the

Class of 1862 as a festal celebration at the end of the sophomore year. The sophomores dressed in black gowns, burned some textbooks, sometimes burned unpopular professors in effigy, and paraded. In 1881 President Frederick A. P. Barnard was displeased by some allusions to him in the course of the affair, so the next year's sophomores ingeniously dressed in white instead of black and changed the name to the Sophomore Triumph, under which title it carried on until 1914. The Sophomore Society of Black Avengers was organized in the early eighties. Wearing black gowns and hoods, they were pledged to punish those scoff-law first-year men who violated the rules for freshmen. No one, at least in theory, knew who the members were. The Avengers went out of existence in 1931. As in most schools, a Freshman-Sophomore Rush has been a tradition on Morningside, although it was temporarily abolished in the reform era of the early thirties. A tug of war, a pushball contest, a fight for a trophy at the top of a greased pole, together with a general license to rip off as much of an opponent's clothing as possible, are the order of the day in any year. A picture in the 1915 *Columbian* of the tattered boys of the 1913 Rush can not be distinguished from photographs of the same affair forty years later.

But under the head of organized and premeditated violence, first place must go to Dinner Week, which started around the turn of the century and was only abolished in 1931, by which time, presumably, every restaurant and hotel in the metropolitan area knew better than to allow a Columbia class on its premises. There is no better way to describe the idea of Dinner Week in general than to quote the firsthand account of one such affair by Condict W. Cutler, '10. It was in the fall of 1907:

The meeting was held in New Jersey since, as the Soph Dinners traditionally broke up in a riot due to the invasion by the Freshman class en masse, it was difficult to secure a dining place in New York City. (We had wrecked Reisenwebers the preceding year.) Also, the Sophs tried to hide their dinners, but there was always a leak. . . .

The dinner was held at somebody's 'Casino.' . . . It stood by the side of a dirt road in flat open terrain. . . . The dinner proceeded with considerable conviviality. The captured Freshmen furnished the entertainment of songs, dances, nose-and-peanut races, etc. They had been costumed and painted up for the occasion. I should guess 100 to 150 Sophomores were present. We wore street clothes, but not our 'Sunday Best.' About 9:30 p.m., at the height of the party, the Freshman class arrived in a body. They announced their coming with cheers and yells. Barricading of doors with chairs and tables was of no avail. They swarmed in and all hell broke loose. . . . Pro-

testing waiters were thrust aside. . . . The hall was a shambles of tables, chairs and combatants mingled in complete confusion.

The riot was going nicely for about twenty minutes when it was rudely interrupted by the arrival of the fire department . . . as a law enforcement procedure. We were first aware of their coming by the crashing of glass panes along the side walls and by several streams of very cold water forcefully sweeping the hall. This quickly quelled the riot, the participants escaping through doors and broken windows. . . . Those who emerged at the front were met by another stream and sent sprawling. . . .

Gathering in the darkness, out of hose range, the escaped combatants made common cause against these intruders, and taking them from the rear succeeded in cutting hose lines and making off with souvenir pieces of hose and at least three firemen's helmets as trophies. That concluded the party. Both Freshmen and Sophomores marched singing and cheering but bedraggled to the Little Ferry station and 'took over' the first train to Weehawken.

One "activity" which is organized, if at all, only once a year, and then on the spur of the moment, is the "spring riot," or Barnard raid, or whatever one cares to call it. Such affairs have different names on different campuses and in different eras. At the moment they are "panty raids," and each year the New York newspapers and the Dean of Barnard College act as though they had never happened before. But at least as far back as 1912 Columbia undergraduates (male) paraded through the Barnard and Teachers College dormitories, although nothing is recorded of any bloomers collected. Afterwards, Student Board summoned more than eighty men and examined them under oath. The Board eventually found that "outside of the impropriety of breaking into the halls, there was nothing done to be complained of," a verdict which might as well be rendered in advance every year.

On the more serious side, Columbia students have always taken an interest in national politics. These days some people seem to think that student interest in that great and normal American activity began only in the depression and then was only of the "radical" sort. In 1908 there were both Democratic and Republican clubs on the campus, and Governor Charles Evans Hughes, '84L, came to Morningside to address the latter. There was also a Politics Club of which the late Leon Fraser, '09, was president at one time and which was addressed by William Jennings Bryan. About this same time there was an active Intercollegiate Socialist Society. Two mock elections were held at least as early as 1908, with Hughes winning for governor of New York and William Howard Taft for president by a "large majority."

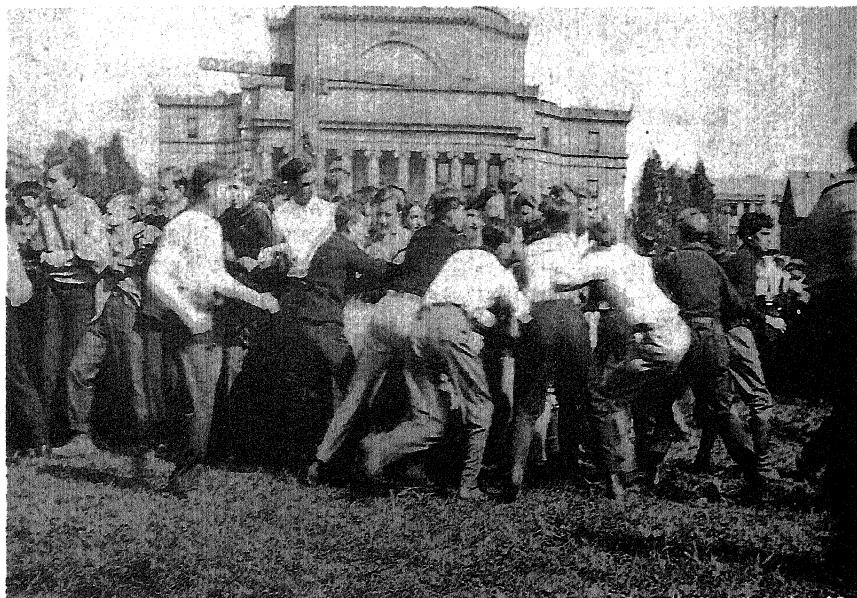
Interest in politics and in various social movements and controversial

subjects has over the years kept alive never-ending arguments as to the proper boundaries of free speech and free association on a college campus. Probably such arguments will never be settled, since each new *cause célèbre* seems to possess, at least for the people involved, some unique aspect. Certainly a university has a right to decide what organizations shall exist and carry on activities on its campus. At the same time, it is pledged to uphold Columbia's Bicentennial theme: "Man's right to knowledge and the free use thereof." With regard to undergraduates particularly, it has a moral responsibility for their conduct as well as their education. Then, too, for members of the university community to meet for a purpose, however obnoxious to the majority, is one thing; but it is quite a different matter if the leading instigators of and participants in such activity are neither students nor faculty.

In general, Columbia College and the University have not only been tolerant, they have encouraged students to organize for the discussion of whatever the undergraduates think are the only important problems in the universe. If anything, there are fewer restrictions now than in the past, but any group claiming privilege must show that it is truly a College or University body. Back in 1915 any bona fide organization of students interested in a political or social movement could hold one organization meeting on the campus. After that, however, groups interested in what President Butler called "political or highly contentious subjects" (such as Woman Suffrage) had to meet off campus.

Religion cannot properly be classified as a student activity, but through the years College undergraduates have been active in organizations devoted to religious ends or based on membership in a particular creed or denomination. As now, clubs representing the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths were centers of interest for many. The Columbia University Christian Association was founded three years before the College left 49th Street. With the completion of Earl Hall in 1902, the Association was fortunate in having a home of its own, in common with the other religious groups. Here is an example of the stimulus that adequate facilities can give to existing purposes and interests. In those days the Christian Association was active in boys' club work and took part in the life of the Manhattan Gospel Hall and the Spring Street Neighborhood House. *Blue Book*, the traditional guide for new students, was first issued in 1895 by the Association and was not taken over by *Spectator* until 1922.

In 1897 there were fourteen fraternity chapters at Columbia, with 362 members, but not all of these were registered in the College. The number increased after that date but fluctuated considerably over the years.



FLAG RUSH: 1909 VS. 1910



A SONG CONTEST IN THE LION'S DEN

In addition, it would appear that the proportion of students belonging to fraternities has decreased even when total student enrollment has increased. The chief handicap of fraternities from the start was the economic one of maintaining houses in a city of high real estate values.

At Columbia, as on many campuses, the Junior Ball or Prom has a long history as the biggest social event of the year. The Junior Ball in 1898 made a profit of \$650 which, the *Columbia University Bulletin* commented, "will make a welcome addition to the athletic funds of the University." The affair was held at Sherry's and in 1899 the *Quarterly* reported: "It was disappointing that it could not have been held on the site; but the Gymnasium, the only place practicable for such a function, was in no fit condition for dancing. It is to be sincerely hoped that this is the last year of exile for Columbia's one social event, as the College element in it is already becoming rapidly minimized." Paradoxically, it was not so many years later that the chief attraction of the Junior Prom was that it was held downtown in one of the plushier hotels, and any Junior Prom chairman would have sneered at the idea of holding it on the campus, regardless of facilities.

It was only a matter of months before the Class of 1899 gave a dance in the gym, and the *Quarterly* was pleased to note that "the excellent floor of this building has put it in constant requisition for dances this season, and is gradually assisting to arouse a new social life among Columbia students." In June, a social evening in the gym after Class Day was an innovation and "the beautiful grove" was "illuminated for promenading." By 1906 the Junior Ball had moved to Delmonico's; that year the profit was \$456.60. A whole series of events grew up around the juniors' big dance, and in 1909, in addition to dancing at the Plaza, the Class of 1910 enjoyed a concert, were entertained along with their female guests at tea by ladies of the Faculty, saw hockey and basketball games, and had a theater party.

With or without meeting and eating places on campus, students will always find off-campus institutions of private enterprise which they prefer. Columbia has been no exception, although until after World War I Prohibition did not complicate matters and make the attractions all the greater. The College Tavern was already in business when Columbia arrived on the Heights. No one has captured the spirit of the Tavern better than Darwin S. Hudson, '98, who told the *Columbia Alumni News* four decades later:

Many of the fraternities had not built their present houses, and in the second story private dining rooms of the tavern several of them lunched every day.

The bar just inside the entrance and the grill in the rear of the first floor were patronized largely by students who were feeling flush or wanted a change from the thick sandwiches and apple pie served in the "Trough," as the lunch room in West Hall was known. No Freshmen were allowed in the College Tavern, and they had no sooner to put their faces inside the door before they were immediately thrown out.

The School of Mines men . . . would sit on the upper porch with their feet on the railing, sipping mint juleps and watching the buggies, bicycles and tandems with ladies in their bloomers go up and down Broadway. It was the only place near the campus where a student could sign a check for his food or drink, and then only if Mike Coleman, the proprietor, thought he was a "gentleman." During the evening, it was one of the most popular hangouts for Columbia men who lived in the fraternity and boarding houses on the Heights. It was especially noted for its sherry cobbler.

Not many years later, without any formal vote, the Lion Cafe at 110th Street and Broadway was the unofficial gathering place for students. As David W. Bowman, '15J, recalls:

The Lion was more than a student hangout—it was a clearing house for news. . . . There the *Jester* staff met informally after staff meetings and more fraternity problems were settled there than in chapter parlors. . . . The amber beverage was a factor. . . . When big Steve in the white coat set out the hot ham at five o'clock he probably saved the lives of many students.

The patrons didn't go in for fancy drinks, for reasons well understood by those who can recall the prices, but stuck to the braus. . . . They discussed Peggy S—— and May D—— and the affairs of the dorms and the chapter houses, Hartley or I Felta Thi as the case might be. . . . You know darn well that it was in the Lion Palace that you passed your most pleasant (even if least studious) hours on Morningside Heights.

There remains another aspect of social life which is difficult to describe or even to define. It is unorganized and to some extent it involves that part of the intellectual life of the College which goes on outside the classroom. Perhaps it is best typified by students and faculty members dining together in some out-of-the-way place that seems to have the right bohemian atmosphere. It might even be possible to trace it back as a modern imitation of the life led—or supposed to have been led—in the medieval and Renaissance universities of France and England.

In any event, the *Quarterly* observed back in 1900 that since Columbia and New York University had both changed sites there was no longer any one spot in the city that was *the* gathering place of students. Before that, University Place had been the center of such life, a "natural meeting

place of bohemian life in all forms." The author of the article predicted that a new center would come into being at 125th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, because of the proximity of Columbia and the College of the City of New York. The mistaken forecaster was the noted sociologist and Columbia Faculty member, Franklin H. Giddings.

About this same time Bayard Boyesen of the English department advised his students that, since they could not visit the Latin Quarter in Paris, they ought to dine once a week at the Cafe Lafayette down on 9th Street. Probably the equivalent advice has been repeated many times since, for Columbia students and faculty members have always enjoyed good food and good conversation. It is impossible to say whether there was more social and intellectual contact between students and faculty early in the century than now. Probably, and unfortunately, there is less now, if from no other cause than the growth, physical and numerical, of the city and the University. On the other hand, the College in its early years on Morningside was still a small unit with little variety in its student body as compared with later years. The student body was dominated by men who lived in the New York area and had attended private preparatory schools. Perhaps one of the greatest gains achieved by moving the campus and enlarging the enrollment was the gradual change in the composition of the student body. It has continually become both more cosmopolitan and more American. Writing nearly thirty years after graduation, Lloyd Morris, '14, recalled: "Perhaps, too, there was stimulus in the daily pressure of a miscellaneous student body, containing representatives of every known nationality, color, creed, and almost every cult—but, as a group, formidably suspicious of authority, dogma, and the example of the past." That statement would probably be subscribed to by every College generation which has followed Morris.

We have already noted the expectation of and the agitation for more and better facilities for College life as the time drew near to leave 49th Street. Dormitories seem to have been considered the most important need because they would do the most to unify the social life of the undergraduates and to bring about a real community of spirit. No one denied that college life itself—living together, eating together, and taking part in athletics, activities, and social affairs—was at least as important as classes and textbooks. Of course, from the beginning many students lived a more or less communal life in the rooming houses of the neighborhood, and a little later fraternity houses offered the same mode of life. Then, eight years after the move, Hartley and Livingston Halls were opened, and in another eight years, Furnald. Of these, Hartley, first by official edict and

soon by tradition, became the center of undergraduate dormitory life. Yet for many years there was little organized social life in the dormitories. A "Dorms Dance" in Earl Hall in 1913 was a "great success" but it created no precedent.

Such records as exist support the hardly surprising conclusion that life in college dormitories is pretty much the same everywhere and in any era. There are the usual complaints about the maid service, the appearance of the rooms, and the comfort of the furnishings. But as the years pass, the physical discomforts, real or imaginary, are forgotten. There remains the sense of well-being and the sharp recollection of eternal truths discovered in dull sessions and better remembered than Latin, algebra, or economics. Columbia College still faces the problem of adequate dormitory space, but even if that were to be solved, there would remain that other problem of students whose homes are in the city and who cannot or will not live on campus.

Sometimes undergraduates are accused of being irresponsible and taking no interest in the world outside their college. At other times they are told that political, social, and economic problems are none of their business. This usually happens when they support minority, or unpopular, or "radical" causes. Certainly the underdog in public affairs, the new, and the heretical or seemingly heretical have an appeal to a segment of American undergraduates, although the majority probably are "normal," i.e., Democrat or Republican. Being under twenty-one, most college students have no political rights. Whether they feel any civic duty beyond voting could only be answered by a survey of individuals. But one duty the college man, along with all others of his generation, has always with him. That is the duty to go into uniform if his nation goes to war. The spirit in which he answers this call depends not only on the individual but also on the spirit of the particular period.

From the standpoint of the college man the Spanish-American War was a brief, voluntary affair: it lasted only four months. In June, 1898, the *Bulletin* believed that the war would have "a serious effect on all undergraduate enterprises." Actually, it was so soon over that no effect can be seen today. At least seven students from the College and thirteen from Science enlisted.

World War I was a different matter. It affected undergraduate affairs both before the United States entered the conflict and after. For some time following the start of the war in Europe, there seems to have been a rather studied pretense on the part of students (as well as their elders throughout the country) that the war did not concern them at all. The

University gradually made it quite evident that it was "internationally minded." Before long the arguments over pacifism as a general principle became obscured in the more immediate debate whether the United States, for practical reasons or for principles, should enter this particular war. College students were active in this debate both as individuals and as members of King's Crown activities, especially the publications. How many were on which side at a given time it is impossible to determine today.

"Preparedness" was the key word by 1916, and everyone was either for it or against it. *Jester*, in June of that year, defended the position: "The argument that war was no longer possible, used so profusely by college pacifists two years ago, is not as popular now as it used to be."

Jester went on to advocate voluntary training at the Plattsburg camp, and the Rogers Peet clothing store in the same issue headlined "Everything for Plattsburg." That summer more than 500 students and alumni spent their vacations at Plattsburg, while others, more inclined to the Navy, went on training cruises.

Jester then had a brief period of about-face when Morrie Ryskind, '17, became editor. In February, 1917, the magazine attacked President Butler and three Faculty members, all ardent interventionists, and suggested the formation of a club of "Un-American Members of the Columbia Faculty." A month later, Ryskind was out. He refused to resign although the editorial board was mostly against him. It should be noted, though, that Student Board, not the University, removed him from his editorship. This was the first of the three greatest crises involving editors of student publications, and it is significant that the two which came later were also in a period of national tension, the Great Depression.

At this same time the first military activity right on the campus took place. On March 8, 1917, 1,000 undergraduates met to form the Columbia Reserve Officers' Training Corps, usually referred to informally as the Columbia Battalion or the Columbia Corps, and from then on military affairs were the primary after-class activity. A month later *Jester* issued a "War Number," with a short editorial beginning, "Cockily, the Laughing Lion dons his khaki uniform." Those who preferred the Navy began training on the U.S.S. *Granite State*, moored in the Hudson at 97th Street.

On May 6, the Columbia Battalion held a special farewell service for the many students who were about to enter the Army. At the review on South Field which preceded the service, the Battalion's "right-about-face while at double quick . . . brought a storm of applause from the crowd." The Battalion entered into a more formal status in the fall of 1917 when

Lieutenant, later Captain, Ralph Hodder-Williams, wounded veteran of Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, was engaged by the University as commanding officer. In the spring of 1918 the entire Battalion took part in a Liberty Loan parade and marched from Washington Square to the Morningside campus. In spite of the time and energy the Battalion took from hundreds of students, most extracurricular activities seem to have gone on. The Varsity Show that year, though, was called *The 1918 War Show*.

The fall of 1918 ushered in still another phase. The Students' Army Training Corps was set up with an enrollment including all male students in all schools of the University who were classed as available for military service. This meant everyone eighteen or over who was physically acceptable. The SATC took over Hartley and Livingston Halls and various other facilities in the neighborhood, including a garage on 124th Street. This is the closest the College has ever come to the ideal of housing all its students on campus. In spite of having to get up for calisthenics at 6 A.M., the undergraduates seem to have saved sufficient strength to carry on many peacetime activities. *Spectator* became the *Columbia SATC Spectator*. The *Columbian* continued to appear, devoting much space to pictures and listings of students and alumni who died or were killed in service. On campus, the SATC had hardly had a chance to get organized before the war was over, and by early December, 1918, the Corps had been ordered to disband. Thus a war and an era came to an end, for the nation and for Columbia College.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY

During the two decades between world wars, the students of Columbia College and their after-class activities managed to survive both prosperity and depression. Some may feel that when they prospered economically they suffered intellectually, and vice versa. It is probably closer to the truth to say that as the nation and the world go, so go their young men. The very contrast between the two decades between wars seems to argue, unfortunately, that college students are not leaders and experimenters but are likely to follow the adult extremists, whether of the right, left, or dead center.

After World War I the number of undergraduates increased, which in itself aided student activities in various ways. More man power was available. There was more money to pay for printing, for dance bands, for stage scenery, even for chess sets. *Spectator*, for example, reached its peak in printing excellence during the 1920's, yet those of other eras may

not feel that its editorial horizons were then as wide as its purse was deep.

As in other eras, *Spectator* is probably the best mirror of the spirit of the times. Shortly after World War I, an editorial urged all eligible to join the American Legion: "Where Radicals wave the Red Flag under our very noses, the first organization the people should look to in an emergency is the American Legion." By 1920 *Spec* officially promised to keep political controversy out of its editorial columns, but a campus straw vote was conducted. Harding swept the field.

Spectator's idea of normalcy was shown in its approval of the revival of freshman hazing. It was concerned in 1921 about men who escorted "females" to football games. Something seemed to keep these men from cheering as Columbia men should. And before long it was noted that women had actually been seen smoking on the campus.

In keeping with the prevailing spirit that if everyone took care of his own interests the world would run smoothly, *Spectator* conducted campaigns which were concerned with campus affairs. It did an impressive job in the fight for an adequate athletic field, with the result that banker George F. Baker made his generous donation. Another campaign under the general title of "What Ails Our Library" got nowhere.

Other publications continued much as before. The chief difference in *Columbian* was that it changed from a Junior to a Senior Yearbook in 1921 and has remained so. The course of the College's literary magazines was somewhat more devious. In 1919 the *Literary Monthly* changed its name to *Varsity*. In 1931 it absorbed *Morningside* and changed its name to *Varsity Review*. The next year it became the *Columbia Review*. The important point is not the name but the part that such a publication has played in the life of Columbia's students. Fewer students may read the literary magazine than read any other publication, but if no such magazine existed it would be a clearer sign than anything that might happen in the English department that the coming generation of potential creative writers didn't exist.

Needless to say, *Jester* continued to reflect the humor of the times. Sample: "May is quite a noisy girl, isn't she?" "Yes, she combs her hair with a bang." By 1920-21, sex was playing a bigger part than ever in campus humor and an editorial indicated that no matter how much the editors liked it, they were a little worried about it.

Varsity Show prospered in the twenties and was a gala social event. In 1920 *Fly with Me* introduced the music of Richard C. Rodgers, '23, and the lyrics of Lorenz Hart, '18. It seems to be conceded, by players and alumni of all other periods, that *Half Moon Inn*, the 1923 show which was

revived in 1925, was the show of shows. Written by Perry Ivins, '21, and Corey Ford, '23, it had music by Henry S. Stewart, '23, and Morris W. Watkins, '24, and was the first production to make an extended tour. It played at the Waldorf-Astoria, with a gala Alumni Night. At the 1925 revival, music from it was broadcast over radio station WEAf, and the *Columbia Alumni News* wrote that "alumni possessing radio sets are invited to 'tune in.'"

The Glee Club was reorganized in 1923 and soon became active in off-campus concerts and intercollegiate contests. That same academic year, the Alumni Federation offered a prize for a football song. The winning lyrics were written by Corey Ford, and Roy Webb, '10, and Morris Watkins provided the music. It will be a long time before Columbia students and alumni stop singing "Roar, Lion, Roar." The Glee Club went as far as Bermuda in those palmy days, and as late as 1931 thirty members traveled between semesters, to give four extramural concerts.

It has become a legend that everywhere in the Prohibition Era campus life was symbolized by the raccoon coat, the hip flask, the short skirt, and the speak-easy. As in other things, though, it is no doubt true that undergraduates were no better and no worse than their elders, no matter how gaudily sinful these now middle-aged alumni would like us to think they were in their gay college days. Probably social life consumed a somewhat larger proportion of the undergraduate's time in the twenties than it did in the depression and war years to come. Fraternities were at their peak in numbers and influence: there were thirty-six houses in 1924 and a "rushing agreement" was in effect. Yet there were far fewer officially organized and sponsored dances on the campus then than a few years later.

But to stress only the gaiety of the twenties would be to forget two important elements of the decade which exercised a strong influence on the Columbia campus and elsewhere. One was the presence, among undergraduates still under age, of "Veterans" who had either been in the war or who had matured in training camps. They imparted to the scene a seriousness, a worldliness, and often an intellectual maturity that could not help changing the character of extracurricular activities.

A second potent influence derived from that same source: travel abroad during and after the war, which supplied a new perspective on the United States. It was the heyday of Sinclair Lewis, Lawrence Stallings, Maxwell Anderson, H. L. Mencken, and other critics of the native

culture. Campus echoes of this attack upon philistinism and commercialism can be found in the fact that the leaders of Columbia activities in the twenties furnished an astonishing number of men later distinguished in literature, publishing, the movies, and the arts generally.

As undergraduates they filled *Spec* and the reviews with their prose or verse, some of which gave more than an inkling of professional competence. One has only to think of Richard H. Fox, '21 ("O'Grady Sezz"), and his "Off Hours," of Corey Ford, '23, Dave Cort, '24, James Warner Bellah, '23, Whittaker Chambers, '24, Horace Coon, '22, Tom Wenning, '25, Otto Von S. Whitelock, '24, and others whose "Laughing Lion Association," founded in March, 1921, published anthologies and kept up in the pages of *Jester* and *Spec* a lively succession of satire in the mood of the times.

Meanwhile, Don Freeman, '24, in *Spectator* was giving polish and perceptiveness to his daily drama column (called "The Suburbs of Columbia"). His tradition of daily dramatic criticism was followed, in order, by Charles A. Wagner, '24, Victor Lemaitre, '25, and Jacques Barzun, '27. Henry Morton Robinson, '23, memorialized the campus way of life of that decade in his long narrative poem, "Children of Morningside."

A little later it was Elliott V. Bell, '25, a notable fencer and wit, who would become State Superintendent of Banks and close adviser to Governor Thomas E. Dewey, who revived in *Spec* the contemplative "Stroller" essay. And in that same second half of the twenties, those who scribbled their lives away on campus on *Morningside* included Clifton Fadiman, '25, William Tindall, '25, and Lionel Trilling, '25, the periodical also carrying designs by Paul McPharlin, '24, and Lynd Ward, '26. In its rival *Varsity*, Jacques Barzun, '27, as Editor gathered a group of writers that included Lincoln Reis, '30, Groff Conklin, '27, and Dwight Miner, '26, while the future of the arts was represented by Richard Franko Goldman, David Barnett, '27, and Edward Robinson, '25—all of them now teachers and producers of music.

In keeping with this highbrow activity, which neatly balanced these same men's drinking of "red ink" in Greenwich Village dives, Philo-lexian—the third oldest literary society in America—was enjoying one of its recurrent golden ages. It staged an annual play, usually Shakespeare, and made a profit out of it. Notable performances of *Julius Caesar*, *Richard II*, and *King John* took place in those frivolous twenties, performances with which the names of Sidney Buchman, '24, Perry Ivins, '20, Warner Tufts, '23, and House Jameson, '25, are associated. Usually,

the veteran actor Louis Calvert coached the production. In the later twenties, the choice fell on Ralph Somerville, as campus taste veered from Shakespeare to Shaw.

What Philolexian did between productions was something of a mystery to those who were not among its forty members. They met every Thursday night and apparently listened with forbearance to one another's opinions on topics of current interest. These might be a new writer like that strange young man, Ernest Hemingway, or some piece of campus politics, or the entries for the Philolexian prizes, literary and oratorical, which were likely to be first read to the group.

The entire Columbia debating team went to England for a series of engagements with representatives of the ancient universities. Richmond B. Williams, '25, managed the enterprise, while Allen F. Maybee, '26, carried off the honors as the American whose casual debating style out-casualled all Oxonians and Cantabrigians.

No less notable in that era was the standard of *Spec* reporting and editing. Under the lead of such men as Theodore M. Bernstein, '24, Abraham Feller, '25 (late of the United Nations counsel), and Ferdinand Kuhn, '25, the paper was a training school in journalism and mental discipline. Each issue was marked up, graded, and posted for the edification (and terrorization) of the candidates. Only the contributors led an easy life. All they had to do was be as funny or profound every day as their critical readers expected of men of reputation such as Horace Coon, Tom Wenning, Alan Max, '27, Allan Keller, '26, and Joe Mankiewicz, '28.

To record these things is to attempt to convey the sense of a bygone age, when young men who were not without humor could nevertheless be serious about their own intellectual ambitions. All this output of energy took place in old East Hall, the little red-brick building left over from the Bloomingdale Asylum and still standing today as Alumni House. Periodic attempts to destroy it by setting fire to wastebaskets supplemented *Spec's* campaigns on behalf of an Activities Suite in the much-needed new dormitory. This finally came about early in 1927 when John Jay Hall, rearing its fifteen stories on 114th Street, was opened. The gray-haired president of Student Board, Royal Cooney, '25, could very properly exclaim, in his warmest official voice: "A happy dream turned into a reality!"

One whole floor was given over completely to King's Crown activities. That is the now-famous "fourth-floor," a phrase that for a quarter of a century has been both a literal and a symbolical password into the en-

chanted realm of those whose true spiritual home in their undergraduate days was the unreal but exciting life of the "activities man."

The feeling concerning life on the campus that Morris Watkins, '24, expressed in the *Alumni News* in July, 1953, was true both before and after his time:

If I were asked what meant the most to me as an undergraduate, my answer would be "Hartley Hall"—without doubt and without hesitation. Because of Hartley, one lived *with* classmates, studied *with* them and came to love them, went out *with* them on the business of extra-curricular activities, and returned *with* them to her happy rooms. . . . Not forgotten is Livingston Hall which played a similar role, I am sure, in the lives of those who lived there. But for me—it was Hartley.

As to eating and drinking places of the twenties, Harold A. Rousselot, '29, recalled ten years later in the *Alumni News*:

There was first of all the Commons, where the food was good, the portions large and the bill small. There was no other place when you think about it—no other University sponsored restaurant suited for the students' purse. Child's, of course, at night after the basketball games—the Amsterdam Avenue delicatessen for a quick lunch, and most important in the picture—the fraternity houses. Until the mortgages were foreclosed on most of them, these houses were the center of our social life. You danced there and ate there and many lived there in preference to what were at that time the bleak halls of Livingston and Hartley.

If you got around at all, though, you were sure to be seen during some of your idle hours at the bar at Jack's up Broadway or at Ralph's in the same vicinity, where if you knew the right answer, all the elixir your finances would allow was yours. Then there was Higby's place below 110th on Columbus with sawdust covered floors and a stream of visitors from one particular fraternity house that alas is no more at Columbia, and Jack's, an Italian restaurant at 108th Street and an Amsterdam Avenue place below 110th.

Spectator first noted the Big Crash in an editorial of November 20, 1929, which reported that "a great number of students have been gambling on the market during the last few years. Reports reaching this office indicate that several students have been completely wiped out."

Repeal, depression, and the growing threat of war set the course of student activities and student opinion in the 1930's. The state of the outside world determined the pattern of undergraduate thought and action more than any student editor or social leader would like to admit. In the temper of the times, optimistic cynicism was replaced by a pessimistic scepticism.

Whereas in the 1920's *Spectator* editors had expressed a "hands-off" policy as regards non-campus politics, the next decade saw not only a reversal of the policy but an aggressive assertion of the right and duty of campus editors to show their elders the political path out of the economic wilderness. In 1932 *Spectator* endorsed Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for president, and a campus poll returned Thomas winner over Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1933, *Spec's* endorsement of Fiorello LaGuardia for mayor of New York was news in the downtown papers.

There are still people who think that most college students of the thirties were pacifists and Communists. Even aside from the fact that the two positions are contradictory, there is little evidence that the collegians, as usual, were any different from their elders. This was an era of isolationism and violent assault upon "the merchants of death." Some students were sincere pacifists; some were anti-war; and still others were, if not Communists, followers of the Communist line.

In the early thirties there was a Social Problems Club which was going to organize the entire student body against war. A poll showed the students to be against war, but *Spectator* pointed out the difference between "genuine pacifism" and the Communist type. Students must "clearly and unhesitatingly draw the line between honest opposition to all war and Marxist justification of class strife alone." This cleavage showed up only too clearly in the first Anti-War Conference of the era, which was officially sponsored by Student Board in 1933.

Spectator, along with other publications and organizations, continued to battle against war, fascism, and anything else it considered "reactionary." But the balance shifted as the decade wore on. As a measure of prosperity returned, there was less interest in radical changes in national politics and economics. At the same time, there was more concern with the international situation. To be sure, everyone still wanted to end his own private menace to the world without war. Before Russia, Germany, and Japan put an end to the argument by overt action, the dilemma was perhaps best summed up in a banner carried in a campus parade of the late thirties. It read, in effect: "Down with war; support the Spanish Loyalists."

The 1930's were in fact a kind of new muckracking era for student editors and organization leaders. The dining halls were investigated. Reed Harris, '32, editor of *Spec*, was expelled and provided a field day for agitators and editors of both sides of the fence. A storm almost of equal intensity blew up in 1935 when another *Spectator* editor, James A. Wech-

sler, '35, was the happy center of the tumult. The 1933 *Blue Book* was alleged to be radical and the University refused to supply the usual mailing list of the incoming freshman class. *Blue Book* attacked fraternities, scoffed at freshman traditions, castigated the University for its stand on academic freedom, and criticized its policy on athletics. (Needless to say, intercollegiate athletics, especially football, had long been the favorite whipping boy of campus reformers, in this case aided and abetted by their elders, particularly the respectable Carnegie Foundation.) A decade later the editor of this most controversial *Blue Book* of all time died in combat as an American infantry officer in Italy. In 1931 *Columbian* announced that it was new and different and would present a "critical review of Columbia College." Today that edition doesn't seem much different from its predecessors or successors.

In other phases of student life in the thirties there were changes of a minor sort. *Spectator* started a campaign for an adequate intramural athletic field. Needless to say, it was unsuccessful. Student Board adopted the proportional representation method of voting, whereupon the student voters soon demonstrated to the popular faculty member who had suggested it (and who was soon to become Comptroller of the City of New York) that politicians are not going to be eliminated by a different way of marking ballots. There was concern for those students who were hard up—or most hard up. The first Dean's Drag was held early in 1933 to raise money for the Dean to use in hardship cases.

Some organizations came and went. The Camera Club and Filatelikus, for campus stamp collectors, were founded. Most important of the new activities organized just as the forties started was the Radio Club, which soon had station WKCR on the air with reception limited to the dorms. Among other innovations, probably nothing President Roosevelt did in the thirties jarred the campus any more than the precedent-shattering action of Varsity Show in 1936 when, for the first time in its history, girls—and mostly Barnard girls at that—appeared in the cast. This sacrilege lasted for only two years, but the older tradition of joining forces with Barnard in other theatricals continued and led in the late forties to an all-University group of men and women interested in presenting plays, light and serious, to the community under virtually professional standards.

In 1934, for the first time in twenty-three years, there was a major change in the organization of King's Crown. It became a department of the University, thus gaining recognition for its importance in student life and for its growing size and complexity. Benjamin A. Hubbard, who had

been unobtrusively guiding campus activities since 1921, simply changed titles and carried on for nearly two more decades.

The Junior Prom continued to be held downtown, but social life centered on the campus. Somewhat paradoxically, more different organizations, including a new dormitory-sponsored Social Affairs Office, staged more dances than ever before but they didn't cost much. Even the fraternities got together in the fall of 1933 and held the first Pamphratia Ball in John Jay. Furthermore, they sold tickets to students not members of fraternities.

It was, however, a period of trial and tribulation for the fraternities. In keeping with the spirit of the times, attacks on them were popular. In 1933 there were twenty-three fraternities, about one third fewer than a decade earlier, and not many more than one hundred freshmen were accepting pledge pins during the rushing period. By 1937, the number of chapters had declined to eighteen. In spite of—or perhaps because of—their common financial problems, the houses got along with one another even worse than before. The old Interfraternity Council was exploded when one group of houses withdrew in 1932, but by February, 1933, a new agreement had been drafted and Pamphratia was founded. It at least has had the merit of lasting.

The physical conditions of dormitory life improved somewhat during the depression. Hartley Hall installed ping-pong and pool tables and a card room in 1933. Beer was available in the John Jay Grill, which later became the Lion's Den with some attempt to create a satisfactory hang-out on the campus. A system of dormitory advisers was instituted. Other and similar improvements have continued (including television after the war), although naturally not as fast as or in the amount that dormitory residents desire.

WAR AND PEACE

As far back as November, 1933, *Jester* had editorialized: "It's pretty hard to be whimsical about the approaching war. . . . Fairly obviously, it's going to happen soon."

Like students in most phases of their life, the *Jester* writer was possibly overanxious; but not for the first time, the student view proved more sharp-sighted than that of some elders. Students quite naturally judge events by their likely effects on themselves, and in war it is the student and those of his generation who do the warring. Yet there is no evidence that the undergraduates ever opposed war just in order to save their own skins. On the contrary, there is more evidence of idealism, international-

ism, and awareness of the dangers of Nazism among student expressions of opinion than can be found in certain sections of the adult population.

The prewar draft had little effect on college students, but Pearl Harbor changed things overnight, not merely for the individual but for Columbia College. Many students departed, voluntarily or in response to "greetings" from their draft boards. At the same time, the United States Navy moved in. It occupied Fernald, then John Jay, then Johnson for dormitories and other facilities for other purposes. As the midshipmen increased to a peak of 2,600, the civilian enrollment of the College decreased. Then, in July, 1943, the Navy's V-12 program sent an additional 500-odd men to the College campus in uniform. They lived in Hartley and Livingston and completed the conversion of the campus to Navy blue and white. In 1940-41, College registration had been nearly 1,700. By 1944-45 it was down to about 1,200, and about half of these were V-12 boys.

The wonder is that student activities continued at all. Yet they did. *Spectator* never ceased to publish, although for the first time since 1902 it ceased to be a daily and for a short while came out only once a week. Varsity Show was presented on campus for the first time in its history. Even so, the chief concern of all student life was with the war, particularly with the role in it of the American of college—and fighting—age. How many Columbia College students saw service in World War II is not known. Some of the participants had combined the College and the Navy courses, that is, were V-12 students. Others, by the hundreds, did not become Columbia students until after the war. On the basis of leaves of absence granted, the record of those who went from the campus roll into uniform is about 1,600.

The end of hostilities solved many problems and created just as many new ones so far as reconstituting life at Columbia College was concerned. Students returned in droves, and they and the College had a hard time deciding what class they really belonged to. With them came the age group that had never had a chance to reach college before going into uniform, bringing with them the G.I. Bill of Rights, its benefits and problems. Registration shot up to more than 1,700 in the 1945-46 year and to more than 2,700 in each of the next two academic years, before tapering off to approximately 2,200.

Oddly enough, one of the most pressing problems of King's Crown activities in the early postwar years was that of man power. Students were older, they had lost time in uniform in relation to civilian careers, and, for the first time in the College's long history, a significant number of them

were married and had children. You can't be "night ed" on *Spectator* and baby sit for your own children at the same time. Moreover, a good many students just didn't seem to be interested in the formerly glamorous campus activities after Normandy and Iwo Jima.

Not only was there a shortage of man power in relation to enrollment, but there was also a lack of training. Many had never had a chance to come up through the ranks from freshman candidate to lordly senior executive. Nevertheless, the fourth floor of John Jay came to life again. In February, 1947, *Spectator* resumed daily publication for the first time in five years. Varsity Show looked like Varsity Show even to the greying alumni of the 1920's. The fraternities were in sad shape, their numbers the smallest in Morningside's history, and with few of them having even mortgage-laden roofs of their own over their heads. Even so, they started another tradition with the Spring Carnival on 116th Street. And in the fall of 1952 it seemed like old times when *Spectator* came out for Adlai Stevenson and was roundly denounced by a fair number of students who preferred the University's President for the White House. There was a long-needed revival of serious dramatic efforts, its success best exemplified by the production and regular revival of T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*. "Hell Week" began to die out, to be replaced by constructive service performed by the fraternity pledges. Sore muscles replaced sore bottoms.

The annual report of the 1950-51 Board of Student Representatives seems to indicate that the postwar era was a blend of other times. On the one hand, the Board was concerned with the conduct of the Freshman-Sophomore Rush; on the other, it was concerned with policy on student organizations and the rules governing off-campus speakers who might be invited to address them. It sponsored rallies for a winning basketball team and set up a committee to investigate the John Jay dining rooms (again). And, as usual, it noted that the College still did not have a Student Center.

Just when things seemed to be getting back to the normal state of undergraduate turbulence that tries to keep the University running properly, fighting broke out in Korea. This brought a new kind of frustration for students. It was a war, but it wasn't a war. Everybody was going to be drafted, but they weren't. All college students were going to be deferred, but they weren't. But King's Crown activities continued.

RETROSPECT

What part have King's Crown activities played in the life of Columbia College? Perhaps the best indication of the time and energy students have

given to them is implicit in any account such as the present one—not because it records the detailed expenditure of all this time and energy, but on the contrary because of the innumerable facts and names it obviously omits. After all, students spend a relatively small part of each twenty-four hours in class. How great a part they spend studying is beyond conjecture. Any true Columbia man saves a sizable share of his energy for athletics or King's Crown activities.

Are these activities important enough to warrant this devotion on the part of so many students? Any participant, past or present, will say yes!—and will gladly start another organization to prove it. Alumni who were big men on campus will only smile and go on reminiscing, not about Economics 32½C, but about the activities in which they were big men.

If these activities are important—in the eyes of students, alumni, and even the administration of the College—just what have they contributed? First of all, they have always contributed that elusive thing, a sense of community, of belonging together. This has been especially important in Columbia, where the College is surrounded by a university and by a great city. The intangibles of activity and social life have been the chief cohesive forces; most of the physical factors have tended the other way—to divide and discourage. Then, too, life on the fourth floor of John Jay, and on the dance floor, teaches just as many useful and important things for later life as do the faculty members in their classrooms. A member of Student Board learns—or should learn—as much about diplomacy in that capacity as he does in any course in international relations. Finally, it seems agreed, even without statistics to prove it, that the undergraduate who takes part in extracurricular life will be more likely to take part in alumni activities whose purpose is to make Columbia an even better college. This is all said without any pretence that those who are active in extracurricular life are better men than those who stick to their books. Some silly things are said and done on the fourth floor of John Jay as well as in the classroom, but some men who engage in more than one activity also end up in Phi Beta Kappa.

What is the future of nonathletic activities and of organized College social life? While no sane alumnus would attempt to predict in any detail, the record certainly indicates that students will continue to organize for purposes of mutual benefit or pleasure. Fortunately, the College administration encourages this. Unfortunately, money and physical facilities have become more important as time has passed. The things students do in organized activities cost more; the city and the University close in with their demands, making it more difficult to find time, and place, and quiet

to be Columbia College men—and, for four short years, nothing more.

The College has never had adequate dormitory space so that all its students could—and would be required to—live together. It has never had anything adequate in the way of facilities for its athletic and non-athletic activities if we compare it with the lush standards set by certain other schools. Yet there is some evidence that this has acted as a spur to student talent and ingenuity. Certainly, no King's Crown activity need apologize for its record over the years. If we could combine interest and ability with the right equipment and facilities, Columbia students of the future could make the alumnus of ten or fifty years admit that his old activity is still really pretty good, considering that he is no longer around to run it.

V

THE LION AFIELD

by Jack N. Arbolino

JULY 1 is a dull date at the University, important, it seems, only to the paymaster. The teachers who are retiring have already made their sad and quickly forgotten farewells. The new appointees are beginning to worry about housing on Morningside Heights, but their actual need, like their taking up of academic duties, is almost three months off. The ladies of Summer Session have not yet hung the frilled curtains in Hartley, the deans and professors are off somewhere—Europe, Cape Cod, or West 79th Street—and the instructors are deep in the library stacks struggling with their dissertations. A kind of solemn quiet reigns. The appointments that begin “as of July 1” have been announced in April, the pleasures of promotion have dimmed, the disappointments eased, if not forgotten.

Yet on July 1, 1946, along with the usual batch of retirements, promotions, and appointments, one change went into effect at Columbia that capped a period of development spanning more than a century. This was the merger into a single administrative unit of the departments of Physical Education and of Intercollegiate Athletics. The new unit was put under the directorship of Ralph J. Furey, who for the previous three years had been serving as Director of Athletics. Behind the announcement of this rather prosaic, businesslike arrangement lay the early history of Columbia athletics—with its policy of perpetually muddling through—and then the years of slow growth to a stage of maturity that at last per-

mitted the type of organization which should have been instituted long before.

In compressing the story of this growth within the limits of a single chapter, it will not be possible to refer to more than a representative handful of the many teams which have carried Columbia's colors. The pioneering exploits of the 49th Street era—almost legendary to most Columbians, but still brightly cherished in the memories of a hardy few—are treated in fuller detail in a companion volume. Yet some mention, however brief, is due them here, partly because they gave sports at Columbia an ancient tradition of well-bred pugnacity, and partly because the repeated attempts in that earlier period to achieve a satisfactory structure for organized athletics throw an indispensable light upon subsequent events on Morningside.

Materials for a history of athletics on the Heights are far richer than the archives show, for the official records are supplemented by an abundance of personal reminiscence among the followers of every sport. Extensive talks with old and young alumni would have been both pleasant and fruitful, but the recollections so assembled would have broken the boundaries of the allotted space. If all the names that deserve inclusion in a history of Columbia athletics were set down here, this narrative would have grown into a volume of its own.¹

Even a cursory treatment of the control and administration of Columbia athletics must include three main eras: student-alumni control, prior to 1903; faculty committee control, from 1903 to 1931; and University Trustee control, from 1931 to the present. Despite the terminal dates, these are by no means clear-cut classifications. During the years of student-alumni control, one can be sure that the faculty and the University administration, though apathetic and even antagonistic, were not without influence. No less in the second period—that of faculty committee control—pressures were felt from the students, the administration, and particularly the alumni. And, need it be said, in the present era of University Trustee control, those in power have ears attentive to the approval or criticism of students, faculty, and alumni.

¹ The sources on which this chapter draws most heavily are: George Ziegenfuss, "Inter-collegiate Athletics at Columbia University" (Doctoral dissertation, Advanced School of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950); the *Columbia Alumni News*; Horace Coon, *Columbia, Colossus on the Hudson* (New York, 1947); and Frank G. Menke, *The New Encyclopedia of Sports* (New York, 1944). I am particularly grateful for the work done by Mr. Ziegenfuss, whose research into the history of our athletic administration has furnished the facts reported in these pages.

The three eras or agencies of control were, and the last still is, haunted from time to time by the same specters of defeat and deficit. In football, for instance, to win regularly is to keep the turnstiles spinning and, consequently, to avoid deficit. To win regularly or even frequently within the framework of a league composed of honored and able sister institutions is not easy (indeed, against Penn it seems impossible). Certainly the sole purpose of a sane program of intercollegiate athletics is not victory; the spirit of ethical competition is paramount. But gate receipts (and football is the financial pivot of a collegiate athletic budget) are inextricably linked with victories. So, even under a diversity of administrative arrangements, the same general problems have prevailed through the three eras. Moreover, through all of them Columbia has striven always (with but rare exceptions in the early periods) to win ethically while staying solvent.

The period of student-alumni control did not end until July 1, 1903, six years after the College moved to Morningside. It began (more under student than alumni control, of course) in the 1820's when class teams played a kind of raggedy-pants soccer-football, and it carried through President William Alexander Duer's announcement in 1837 that "no missiles of any description could be thrown by any student within the college or upon the green except in such games or recreation as the President might permit before and after the hours of attendance."

Because our preposterous gym, the remodeled pool, Baker Field, the boathouse, South Field, and—through a happy alchemy—even the new field house and the young coaches bear about them the mark of the long past, and because such figures as Kennedy, Murray, Coakley, Merner, Little, Peterson, and "Doc" Barrett seem to our generation to have been always with us, we should not leave the very early period without at least citing in rough chronological order some of the events that caught the light in those distant years.

Why not put under organized sports the fact that Charles King, President from 1849 to 1864, induced the Trustees to appoint a teacher of boxing and fencing, although his request for a billiard hall for the use of the students was refused? At any rate it was in 1858 that Columbia first engaged in outside competition. The baseball team, led by a second Charles King, the son of the athletically inclined President, played the Columbia Grammar School Team where Radio City now stands. The following year, the College students petitioned the authorities for funds to purchase baseball equipment. The Trustees responded in 1867 with a grant of \$200. The team that year defeated NYU and City College but

lost to Yale and Princeton in a campaign which marked Columbia's true introduction to intercollegiate sports.

In 1869 Rutgers defeated Princeton in the first intercollegiate football game. Interest must have spread rapidly to the 49th Street campus, for in the following year Columbia, captained by Stuyvesant Fish, scheduled Princeton's conquerors and lost by a score of 6-3 in what appears from the records to have been the fourth American intercollegiate football game. In 1872 we introduced Yale to football, and although it was Yale's first game, they won. After a few years of desultory competition, football at Columbia lapsed.

In 1859 we purchased from our sister institution on the Charles an old barge named the *Harvard*. No doubt it was quickly rechristened, but there is no evidence that it was ever used in competition. In that same year began on campus the interest in rowing that was to bring to Columbia some of its brightest victories.

In 1873 the first Columbia crew rowed on the Connecticut River at Springfield, Massachusetts. C. M. Moore, a senior, had been elected captain and put in charge of selecting the crew, procuring a boat, and raising the necessary funds. E. S. Rapallo, '74, who rowed in this boat and with the 1874 crew as well, reports: "The coach was paid \$50 a week or month, I do not recall which, and also his board." The 1873 crew at Springfield placed fourth in a field of thirteen. Yale, Harvard, and Cornell led the way.

In 1874 at Saratoga, in the first regatta of the Intercollegiate Rowing Association, Columbia, stroking the *Van Am*, took first place. The New York Stock Exchange partially suspended business and sold pools. The betting odds were at 25 to 1 and Columbia men prospered.

The brilliant Columbia victory at Saratoga won for the crew strong student and alumni support. We placed second in 1875 and third in 1876. In the latter year a \$10,000 boathouse was completed on the Harlem River at Mott Haven, a substantial part of the cost having been provided by the Trustees.

Two years later Columbia gained one of its greatest athletic victories by sweeping the Thames. The New York *Times*, reprinting an account which appeared in an English paper, said: "The Columbians have won the only boat race ever gained by an American crew in England and are today the heroes of Henley." The members of that remarkable Columbia crew, which upon its return was awarded the freedom of the city, were E. E. Sage, bow, Cyrus Edson, H. G. Ridabock, and J. T. Goodwin, stroke.

In the seventies and the early eighties more clubs dedicated to the sports of gentlemen were started: fencing in 1873; boxing in 1875; rifle in 1878; and, soon after, walking, cycling, tennis, and riding. Charles A. Reed was Intercollegiate Bicycle Champion (2 miles) in 1883 and 1884. Columbia won the intercollegiate team championship in 1896, 1897, and 1898, and in 1888 we took the intercollegiate tug of war championship.

In 1876 Columbia again attempted a formal football schedule, but lack of facilities and poor organization—characteristics of student-alumni control—made the next few seasons unsatisfactory. This despite the fact that in that same year (1876) Columbia had become with Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Rutgers a charter member of the American Intercollegiate Football Association.

In 1880 a sophomore named Nicholas Murray Butler acted as secretary at a mass meeting of the undergraduates, the purpose of which was to place football on a firmer footing. As President twenty-five years later, Butler announced the abolition of the game at Columbia. In 1873 President Andrew D. White of Cornell, when asked if his students might travel to Cleveland to meet the Michigan football team on neutral ground, had made a classic statement that the latter-day Butler might have envied: "I will not permit thirty men to travel 400 miles merely to agitate a bag of wind."

In 1884 Columbia's membership in the American Intercollegiate Football Association was allowed to lapse. Although the football spirit was not to revive until the College moved to Morningside, other sports continued. The crew had numerous successes—victory at Lake George in 1879, a first in the initial Childs Cup race in 1880, and firsts and seconds in important races previous to the first Poughkeepsie Regatta in 1895. That famous race was won in very rough water by Columbia. Our crew was stroked by Hamilton Fish, Jr., later killed in the Spanish-American War. The coxswain was F. H. Sill (later Father Sill of Kent School).

In 1888 Columbia won the singles and doubles in the intercollegiate tennis matches, but unfortunately this feat has not been repeated since.

Track, which began in 1876, fielded a team every year up to 1917; it was the only sport at Columbia to show such stability. In addition, for a number of years beginning in 1880, there was an annual track meet for the eastern colleges to get, of all things, money to support the crew.

It is easy to disparage this period of student-alumni control when one studies the casual, sometimes shoddy, way things went, but it must be remembered that the faculty and the Trustees gave almost no help. The students and the alumni at least faced the problem and, all complexities

considered, they evidently did pretty well. Now, from our pinnacle of Trustee control, we may be inclined, as we look back, to scoff. But the strident editorials in *Cap and Gown*, the protracted adolescence of a certain type of alumnus, and the almost miraculous mismanagement of the early athletic program were all a part of our development, and we should not cavil but be thankful for the effort and enthusiasm that enabled us at least to muddle through. The charges of botched finances, disrespect for or complete innocence of eligibility rules, and poor coaching and supervision we cannot deny. The fact remains that we had to learn, the hard way, that such a highly charged discipline as physical education and intercollegiate athletics needs responsible policy-making and leadership.

From 1869 to 1901 five successive organizations controlled athletics. Only one lasted as long as eight years. There was, in addition, under every regime, an association for each separate sport. These were supposed to operate within the framework of the general organization, but in fact each went its own way. The organizations and associations were administered by students, but usually the alumni controlled the finances and policies, so that like Milton's fallen angels, they seemed to sit in darkness hatching vain empires. Intense competition between the baseball, rowing, and football associations led to mutual antagonism and, consequently, a series of alterations of the general organization.

One of these reorganizations, following a disclosure by *Spectator* in March, 1890, that the crew had been allocated \$1,200 and the baseball association almost nothing, was undertaken by Professor Jasper T. Goodwin. This was the same man that had stroked the "heroes of Henley" in 1878. Professor Goodwin's plan, published in *Spectator* and approved by the students, gathered the associations under one head and gave prominence to the four major sports—football, baseball, crew, and track. This body was called the Columbia College Athletic Union. It was the third of the five organizations covering the period from 1869 to 1901.

The Columbia College Athletic Union gave the alumni more power than ever before; the students felt, quite logically, that inasmuch as the alumni were footing most of the bills, they could properly claim the power. Within four years the CCAU failed. In 1891 and 1892 there was no varsity baseball, from 1892 to 1898 no varsity football, and from 1892 to 1895 no varsity crew. There was by 1893 a \$2,500 debt, and *Spectator* gave credit for the clearance of it to Professor Goodwin. A bitter editorial prompted a subscription to collect back wages for the groundskeeper at Williamsbridge.

In 1894 the Columbia College Union succeeded the CCAU and, despite

the significant fact that two faculty members were on the board of directors, it, too, after a faint quiver of life, perished. Misplaced rivalry again proved harmful and President Seth Low himself was dragged into the fight. By 1897 the CCU had a \$3,000 debt. It gave way to another doomed and dreary group known as the Columbia University Athletic Association.

To dwell on administrative mistakes would be to miss the forest for the trees. There were jealousies and failures, it is true; there was mismanagement—indeed, one football manager was expelled for dishonesty; but there was also clear evidence that the students and the alumni wanted organized athletic competition. Generous gifts of time, effort, and money were repeatedly made. For example, a well-equipped boathouse was erected in 1896, the gift of Edwin Gould, '88, Mines. There were wonderful victories, too, and through the comradeship of the field, players then as now heard the chimes at midnight together. In administration, important lessons were learned regarding eligibility, financing, and coaching. Lastly some of the moral issues arose that are inseparable from the founding of a new activity, a new discipline within the academic community.

“With the removal of the University to Morningside Heights and the occupancy of the gymnasium, a new impulse has been given to athletic sports as a part of the life of the student body.” Thus did President Low record a change in addressing the Trustees in his annual report for 1899. This new impulse was felt especially among football enthusiasts, and for the first time in six years Columbia fielded a team. There began, for Columbia and other American universities, the turbulent period of “big-time” football. We were soon to face all the problems inherent in such a large-scale revival. President Low was anything but unmindful of them. He had gone on to say in his 1899 report:

The principal difficulties to be contended with spring from the intercollegiate character of such sports. Intercollegiate competition, while it gives great zest, makes such sports very costly; encourages the expenditure of large sums for trainers and coaches who are often professionals; for surgeons and the like; and places university athletics upon a basis so nearly professional that often the only distinction to be found is in the fact that the players themselves do not profit by the large gate receipts. In the meanwhile, the spirit of intercollegiate rivalry engenders betting and tempts the athletic managers of colleges and universities to strive for success without regard to means. I confess to a certain distrust of the permanency of a system in which large gate receipts

and the results that flow therefrom are an integral part. The very essence of amateur competition in athletics appears to me to be that those who contest should pay their own expenses, and that neither the individuals who compete nor the organizations they represent should receive any profit from the contest. On the other hand, despite this heavy indictment of the system as it is, the influence of athletic sports, properly conducted, even under this system, is undoubtedly beneficial in many ways. . . . The problem is to check as many as possible of the abuses of intercollegiate athletics and to develop all that is good in them. As Columbia, in her new home, seems likely to be more of a factor in this field than heretofore, I desire to say that the influence of the University will be thrown as strongly as possible in favor of accenting in every way the amateur character of such competition.²

The abuses that President Low feared were not held in check; he had prophetically described the problem but was unable to solve it. Columbia did go "big time." In 1900 we played eleven games, winning seven, losing three, and tying one. In 1901 we played thirteen and won eight. These were good years for Columbia, all the more remarkable that Columbia had not fielded any teams for six years before 1898. In the opening years of the twentieth century, three Columbia men made all-American: Wright, Morley, and Weekes; the last two especially found permanent places in Columbia's athletic history. It was Weekes, perhaps, who did most to grip the hearts of the *aficionados*. On October 28, 1899, Columbia played a Yale team that was believed invincible, and Weekes, a freshman halfback, ran a Yale kickoff back for the only touchdown of the game. After the game the team was drawn down Seventh Avenue in a coach pulled by cheering crowds of Columbia students. When Weekes earned a place on Walter Camp's all-time all-American team, Camp described him as "the best end runner for a man of his weight that the game has ever seen. He was stockily built, yet not short; powerful and fast, and had that particular burst of speed at the right moment that enabled him to circle almost any end."³

The 1900 team has been described as the best Columbia had had up to that time. It might also have been described as nonrepresentative. Only three of its players were from the College; the rest were from the graduate schools, and one was later exposed by the *Evening Sun* as a "professional." According to the *Sun*, at least one man "accepted from the managers of the Columbia football team money with which to pay the several fees necessary to matriculate at the University. And that money was given

² *Annual Report*, 1899, pp. 26-27.

³ Quoted in *Columbia Alumni News*, VII, No. 4 (October 15, 1915), 100.

for the sole purpose of getting the services of these men as members of the football team.”⁴

The dark and devious ways of “big-time” football led to nothing more severe than the *Sun* exposé, but slowly and steadily the faculty and the Trustees were being pushed to the point of reforming action.

Starting with the 1901 schedule, the football association found itself forced to follow a policy that brought it into open conflict with the faculty and Trustees. In order to clear a deficit and take in enough gate receipts to pay the rent on Manhattan Field, the association scheduled an increasing number of games with “big teams.” The obvious result was a drop in the record of games won. The tough schedule also made additional practice periods imperative, a situation which meant that players from Mines and Law, who in those days, were eligible, had to cut classes in order to attend the practice sessions. At the same time, professors were petitioned to overlook the “conditions” (probations) resulting from these cuts. Such interference with academic prerogative could not be condoned, and by 1905 a large group of the faculty was ready to demand the abolition of the game. Two incidents—completely unrelated to Columbia itself—made it possible for the opponents of football to win their point. A player on the NYU team was killed, and in a Swarthmore-Penn game a Swarthmore man, because of his outstanding prowess, was subjected to a deliberate beating throughout the game. Frank G. Menke reports that the player stood up under the battering and was photographed as he tottered off the field. President Theodore Roosevelt saw the picture and threatened to abolish football by executive edict if rough play were not eliminated. Public sentiment against the game ran strong and there was a White House meeting of university officials. On November 29, 1905, the Columbia Committee on Student Organizations, with President Butler’s approval, gave the football association until December 31 to disband. Thus was Columbia, one of the pioneers in college football, forced to abandon the game. *Spectator* reported the ban in an issue bordered in black. The alumni and the students, as well as the football association, asked for and were granted a hearing by the University Council. When this had been held, the Council adopted the following resolutions: “RESOLVED, That, in the opinion of this council, it is inexpedient that any action be taken looking to the revocation or modification of the action already taken by the Committee on Student Organizations in relation to the game of football.”⁵

⁴ New York *Evening Sun*, September 10, 1900.

⁵ Quoted in *Annual Report*, 1906, pp. 45-46.

Indirect wording of unmistakable meaning. For a time, President Butler basked in public approbation. He addressed via *Spectator* an open letter to the students in which he attacked the concomitants of professionalized sport in college, the excesses and temptations to which it led. He made it clear, however, that the University authorities were condemning the game itself, not the management of it at Columbia.

As a recent study of Columbia's athletic policy has pointed out, the abolition of football was the first vigorous action upon intercollegiate athletics taken by University officials. The critic concludes that the decree was "largely negative in that it treated the symptom by killing the patient." It might be more accurate to liken the University's action to throwing out the baby with the bath. This baby, however, was not killed; he came back.

The faculty as a whole was delighted, but not so the less docile alumni and students. T. Ludlow Chrystie, later graduate manager of athletics and first president of the Varsity "C" Club, countered with some strong charges against the conduct of the University. From so loyal and selfless a Columbia man, these ringing injunctions were doubly damaging. The following is taken from the minutes of the Alumni Committee of Columbia University, March 28, 1906. Mr. Chrystie said:

If Columbia University would only establish and maintain some consistent principle of conduct in regard to its student activities and to athletics, we would gain a great advantage. During the eighteen years that I have been connected with the College there has been, about every four or five years, an upheaval, an entire change of administration and an undoing of everything that has been done. The failure was due to the general way of handling affairs at the University.

Mr. Chrystie was right. The University's only consistency in regard to athletics was its steady refusal to take a firm stand. Stable, competent leadership of athletics was wanting, and the lack of it had been obvious since the move to Morningside. The Trustees had been unwilling and, probably, financially unable to assume the burden of management. They temporized, leaving to the few athletically-minded members of the faculty the problem of bringing as much order as possible into the tangled football situation. The small group of faculty members had indeed done what they could.

On November 19, 1901, the University Council had passed the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the President is hereby authorized to appoint a University Committee of Student Organizations and such other committees and officers

as he may from time to time deem necessary to supervise and control all student organization, athletic and other, which in any way represent the University before the public.

This had—on paper—ended student control. It had not by any means or in any degree decreased the influence of the alumni. It had in fact, given alumni power a considerable boost. One of the reasons was that many members of the faculty had been far from eager to accept the responsibility for becoming party to what they felt were nonacademic and petty student controversies. They felt, too, despite the sense of the regulation passed by the University Council, that financial and other supervisory tasks pertaining to student activities were not the proper function of a University faculty. There was even more than now a strong feeling that intercollegiate athletics was hardly an important part of education, that it impairs rather than enhances the dignity of a serious center of learning.

This is a feeling still shared by more than a few of Columbia's most distinguished teachers. From time to time at Baker Field, we see high up in Section 13, Professor Jones rooting as hard as the wildest undergraduate, and we smile and feel that old Jonesy is truly a regular fellow. Old Jonesy, however, is in this respect not at all typical of Columbia teachers. Many of them, and they are "regular" too, will remember Jim Ward, if at all, as that good student with a wonderful smile rather than as a star end. Moreover, there are those faculty members who, knowing a likable young man named Mitch Price, and knowing, too, that he engaged in varsity sports, still regard intercollegiate athletics as a necessary evil, or worse, as an entirely unnecessary one.

Although the faculty had not relished its task, it had felt obliged, indeed it had been directed, to take an active role in the supervision of organized student sport. Professor J. F. Kemp, named as the first chairman of the faculty committee on athletics, had summarized the views of many school officials when he wrote in the *Columbia University Quarterly*:

Their position was and is that the authorities should carry on the educational and discipline work of the University without taking specific cognizance of this branch of student activity. But, conditions being what they are today, such an attitude cannot be maintained by us or by any sister institution without doing irreparable injury to intercollegiate reputations.⁶

Except for one important contribution, the faculty committees had been ineffectual. They had, in the first decade of the century, established the eligibility rules which with very little variation still apply today. Dur-

⁶ J. F. Kemp, "History of Faculty Regulations of Athletics at Columbia," *Columbia University Quarterly*, IV, No. 1 (December, 1901), p. 34.

ing the formative years of intercollegiate athletics, eligibility rules had been practically nonexistent, a state of affairs which made it possible for William Fellowes Morgan, A.B. '80, E.M. '84, to play football at Columbia (legally, let it be said) for eight years. Soberer rules were established and enforced in 1900, at which time a four-year limit was placed on participation. Three years later the rules were amended and strengthened and were prefaced by the warning: "The participation in any athletic game or event of non-registered students, or of students who have not fully qualified, in accordance with the terms of this announcement, will be followed by the punishment both of the manager and of the offending student."⁷

On December 19, 1905, the same day on which it had approved the action of the Committee on Student Organizations in disbanding the football association, the University Council advised the President to take steps to correct conditions and to restore athletics to their proper place.

The President constituted three advisory committees on athletic policy, one faculty, one alumni, and one undergraduate, each consisting of nine members, and requested them severally and in conference to prepare for consideration the plan by which the optimum ends might most speedily be reached.

The alumni committee called for the general control of sports by the alumni and faculty; for the autonomous management of individual sports, two alumni being advisers to each; for the establishment of a "Columbia Athletic Committee" to be composed of three faculty members, three alumni, and three students, plus a paid secretary appointed by the committee.

From this report that of the faculty committee differed notably. In the past the faculty had tended to side-step the responsibilities delegated to it; indeed, it seems that at times the faculty had artfully encouraged the alumni to push for dominance. Now, through its committee the faculty stated:

The adjustment of the relation of athletics to university life cannot be entrusted to a committee whose interests are primarily athletic, but must reside in a committee who have a wide view and scope and whose primary interest is academic. Yet the conduct of athletic affairs and the administration of the general rules and principles must be in the hands of those familiar and interested in the athletic situation and their needs. The faculty was against the alumni proposal which wants a control committee of athletics made up of three alumni, three students, and three faculty members on the basis that this

⁷ Columbia University, *Student Organizations, Athletic and Other, 1903-1904*, p. 5.

tended to separate the control of the athletic policy from university control. The faculty recommends that the ultimate control of all athletic questions remain vested in the University Council and President by means of a Committee on Student Organizations appointed by the President, and that the President appoint a Director of Sports to be paid a salary by the University and to rank as an University officer.⁸

The report, signed by H. B. Lord, went on to laud intramural sports, condemn professionalism and commercialism, warn that money provided by endowments could not justifiably be spent for athletics, and decry public exhibitions for money as unbecoming and no part of the education of gentlemen; it ended with the observation that "dunning alumni is a nuisance and strikes at a student's manliness and independence."

After considering the reports and the recommendations, President Butler reached the following decisions, among others: there was to be no radical change in the administration of sports; the Committee on Student Organizations should retain the right to permit or prohibit a given sport except when, as in the case of intercollegiate football, the CSO having sought and obtained from the University Council the approval of its action (abolishing football), it would not be proper for CSO, without the consent of the Council, to reverse its policy; the project for a University stadium to be built on the Hudson River as an extension to Riverside Park, between 116th and 120th streets, would be pressed to completion as rapidly as funds were available; and (a curious bit of realism), although gate receipts were undesirable, there was to be no plan for doing away with them.⁹

Meanwhile, the Department of Physical Education had been organized. From the beginning it aided the intercollegiate program, although it was specifically charged with the direction of the regular physical education classes and the minor sports. The formal amalgamation of physical education and intercollegiate athletics under unified supervision, as firmly achieved in 1946, was under consideration for a long time.

One important aspect of the era of faculty committee control was the evolution of the graduate manager type of administration. Considering the uninspired leadership that would necessarily be provided by a faculty group pressed into a job for which it had no relish, the use of a graduate manager or some such agency was understandable—even predictable. Also, if one considers the kind of mild paternalism Butler believed in and

⁸ H. B. Lord, *The Athletic Situation at Columbia*, a Faculty Committee Report to President Butler, in *Columbiana*.

⁹ Memorandum by President Butler, in *Miscellaneous Documents, 1906-1909*, III, 73-77.

the natural persistence of the male animal known as Loyal Alumnus, it is no surprise that the graduate manager plan reflected quite clearly the will of some of the more ardent Old Light Blues.

In 1910, the graduate manager and his assistant, with cordial editorial support from *Spectator*, set about working hard to collect money. The students were exhorted to join the Athletic Association, founded the previous year. Irrespective of the faculty committee's view that "dunning alumni is a nuisance," the graduates were likewise laid under contribution.

For the first year there was a surge of spirit and the collections were adequate. If Columbia was unrepresented on the football field, its basketball teams were capturing championships at an unprecedented rate and hopes were high for the crew.

This enthusiasm soon lost much of its initial force, but we still retain one cherished memento of this period—the Columbia Lion. It was in 1910 that the Student Board adopted the lion as a sports symbol. The idea, as is recounted elsewhere in this volume,¹⁰ came from George B. Compton, '09. The Columbia colors, light blue and white, had been appropriated in 1852 from the Philolexian and Peithologian societies.

In 1911 the ten-dollar student subscription did not come easily. The Athletic Association advocated its collection with the tuition fees at registration. The University Committee on Finance refused, however, to increase total fees in the interest of optional activities. The Committee at this time supported their decision with the interesting argument that to permit the University to collect such a fee would perforce obligate it to administer the money, and this, according to their old thesis, was not the proper function of the University.

Lacking the crutch of an official collection method, student financial support fell off badly. In 1915 only 204 students subscribed, and the Athletic Association became an almost invisible entity. At Columbia, the graduate manager plan weakened rather quickly, but it was not without the advantages inherent in a fairly centralized form of control. It is in fact the plan now used by the majority of American colleges and universities, and has been for approximately the last forty years. Yet, with its strengths, if not because of them, this system is susceptible to nonuniversity pressures which can be described as—to put it mildly—unwholesome.

Although the students refused to support the Athletic Association,

¹⁰ See p. 247.

this did not mean that their interest in athletics—and especially in football—had disappeared. On the contrary, from the day of the ban the students (and the alumni) had carried on a campaign for the restoration of football. Almost daily for the first year of football's exile from the campus, *Spectator* carried a banner head across its front page saying INTERCOLLEGIATE FOOTBALL MUST BE REINSTATED AT COLUMBIA. A few interclass games were played during this period to keep up student interest and to convince faculty members and Trustees that the game could be played safely. By 1910 there were converts among the faculty. By 1911 even the metropolitan newspapers, which had lauded the wisdom of the ban, began to support the movement for restoring the game. In 1914 the students were permitted to play a class game on South Field. It was well conducted, cleanly played, and cleverly publicized. Restoration was near, and in the spring of 1915, varsity football—with restrictions—returned. To this day the season of 1915, which reached its climax in an 18-0 Thanksgiving Day victory over Wesleyan, stands as our only undefeated football year.

One of the crippling conditions of the restoration was that no games would be played with Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Cornell, or Pennsylvania for at least five years. This proviso, as well as the ten-year absence from competition during the formative period of the sport, is the reason why Columbia, an early football leader among its own group and in the nation as a whole, now finds itself without a particular traditional rival for "the" big game. Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, Penn, and Dartmouth, none of which had discontinued the sport, took a big step toward solidifying their schedules during the period of our abstention. Columbia was, in some respects, a long time making a comeback after the restoration.

Other restrictions stated that all games during the trial period of five years were to be played at home and that students exercising professional option (combined college and graduate work) were not eligible. Also important, insofar as administrative history is concerned, was the stipulation that "all coaches would be on the staff of the Department of Physical Education." Dr. Frank D. Fackenthal, then chairman of the University Committee on Student Organizations, did the most, by his "tireless and clearhead advocacy," to bring back football to Columbia.

While President Butler acquiesced in the movement to restore intercollegiate football on the campus, he never expressed doubt as to the wisdom of the action taken by the University Council in 1905. In his first annual report following the decision to lift the ban he declared:

Its beneficent effects were not long in showing themselves. The undergraduate body grew rapidly in number and improved in quality. The effectiveness of the academic work during the early part of the first half of the academic year was greatly increased. The tone and spirit of the student body were vastly improved. Not all of these gains were due to the abolition of football, but they took place in spite of the absence at Columbia of what had been supposed to be an absolute necessity to American undergraduate life.¹¹

The observation on the improvement in quality of the student body following the abolition of football stands in striking contrast to the conclusions of a special four-man committee of the Board of Trustees which submitted a report on athletics on December 2, 1929.

Intercollegiate athletics has a direct influence on the type of student attracted to any institution. This was clearly demonstrated during the years from 1905 to 1915 when football was abolished at Columbia, during which years a less desirable average type of undergraduate student was secured, but a better type came when football was resumed.

Unquestionably both opinions have their validity. President Butler had too much integrity to fabricate "beneficent effects" where none existed. He was convinced that the quality of the student body had improved. The Trustees who reported in 1929 were, we can feel sure, equally sincere; they had different, perhaps one should say less classical, standards of quality. Moreover, the game itself had changed, like the nation and its attitude toward college and toward sports.

During the years that we were without football we did well in other sports. James T. Rice, coming to the campus as a crew coach in 1907, enjoyed great success and popularity for a time. His oarsmen took four consecutive Childs' Cups and topped off their achievements by a victory at the Poughkeepsie Regatta in 1914.

Columbia basketball teams, in the first eleven years of the Eastern Intercollegiate Basketball League which started in 1902, won five championships, placed second four times, and came in third twice. Harry Fisher, a young coach who had been an outstanding player, handled the team from 1905 to 1917. The excellent "lightning fives" were his teams.

The baseball team won its share of games and turned out stars like Robert W. Watt (1915 captain, now a Trustee), Beck, and George Smith. It also acquired reflected glory by launching the career of a man who became one of the game's immortals—Edward Trowbridge Collins, '07. Andy Coakley took over the coaching in 1914 and he has to his credit

¹¹ *Annual Report*, 1915, p. 14.

another baseball great—the Iron Horse, “Columbia” Lou Gehrig. No other college has two men in baseball’s Hall of Fame.

Coakley retired in 1951 after completing his thirty-eighth season at Morningside, but at Columbia he was not without friends as old in service as himself. Ed Kennedy and Carl Merner, the coaches of swimming and track respectively, have with Coakley more than 115 years at Columbia among them. They outlasted Gus Peterson, wrestling coach, who retired in 1950 after thirty-five years, and Jimmy Murray, ex-fencing coach, who drilled Columbia’s fencers for a full half-century before retiring in 1949.

The crew had only a fair record in the decade after the 1914 victory at Poughkeepsie. The sport was just about inactive during the war years. In 1922 the popular Jim Rice was re-engaged. This time he encountered relentless alumni pressure and criticism. He resigned following the 1923 season and there were two more coaches, Frederick Miller and William Haines, before the Glendons came.

Richard Glendon, Jr. was hired, with his father as assistant, in 1925. Their coming inaugurated a golden era at Columbia. In 1927 the Columbia Varsity, stroked and captained by Eric Lambart, beat the best of East and West at Poughkeepsie. Number 6 in that boat was Tom Kerri-gan, football tackle and current president of the Varsity “C” Club. The Junior Varsity was second to Washington. At number 2 was Frank Bowles, later Director of Admissions at Columbia and now chairman of the College Entrance Examination Board.

The 1928 Varsity broke the course record but came in second to California. However, on June 24, 1929, Columbia’s Varsity made history in one of the great races of all time. In very rough water (four boats swamped and sank) Columbia came from behind to overtake Washington by two and one-half lengths. Robert F. Kelley of the *New York Times* opened his page-one story the next day with the following sentence: “The rule of the River Hudson came back to the sidewalks of New York tonight.”

In 1933, following the untimely death of Richard, Hubert Glendon became head coach; his crews did not match the records made by those of Richard Junior and Senior.

Football came back slowly but steadily after 1915. In general, the restrictions were obeyed and intramurals were emphasized. World War I naturally brought impediments, but following the advice of the Secretary of War, Columbia carried through its 1917 and 1918 schedules. Although one of the restrictions required that all games be played on

home grounds, in 1918 the team played Syracuse University at Syracuse. Head coaches followed one another with greater frequency than success—T. Nelson Metcalf, 1915–18; Frederick T. Dawson, 1919; and Frank J. (Buck) O'Neil, 1920–22.

There was a steady response to the lure of the "big time." Then occurred two events which aroused visions among the student body and alumni of a renewal of ancient gridiron glories. The first, in January, 1922, was a gift from George F. Baker to enable the Trustees to acquire the so-called Dyckman property at the northern tip of Manhattan Island for the better accommodation of the athletic program. Baker Field, acquired for approximately \$650,000, is now a byword wherever the fortunes of Columbia's outdoor sports are followed and, despite its physical separation from the campus, it has continued to serve the University well. The second event to arouse visions of football glory was the coming of Percy Haughton as head coach in 1923.

Haughton performed no miracle, but he did foster Walter Koppisch, a 1924 all-American, Columbia's first since Richard Smith in 1903. The alumni expected more than they got. Haughton was a big name in college football, and the metropolitan newspapers commended Columbia for getting Haughton from Harvard. He must have had, among other talents, what is today even more than in those days an asset to big-time coaches—an acute sense of public relations. The professional football alumni were caught up in a kind of feverish adoration of him, and when he indicated at the end of the 1923 season that he would not return, they worried until the night of the football dinner, when—with a fine sense of theatrical timing—he announced that he would be back in the fall.

Haughton died suddenly after the fifth game of the 1924 season. Paul Withington, an assistant, finished the year and Charles F. Crowley took over in 1925. The alumni led an abortive movement to get Knute Rockne, the Notre Dame coach, and it is easy to imagine how reassuring such an attempt must have been to Crowley. In intercollegiate athletics at Columbia, as elsewhere, misdirected alumni enthusiasm seems frequently to have been a kind of twin brother to administrative bungling.

Crowley stayed on until 1929. Although the 1925 to 1929 teams did not do badly from the standpoint of total games won and lost, Columbia's triumphs were principally one-sided affairs over outclassed opponents. The "big" teams continued to prove a little too big with tantalizing regularity. There were, it is true, a few memorable exceptions—Army in 1925, Cornell in 1926, and Syracuse in 1927—but the autumn of the

stock market crash was also a bad one for Coach Crowley, and he resigned under stress.

From 1920 to 1930 there were two sports at Morningside under alumni pressure to produce winning teams—crew and football. In that ten-year period, crew had four different head coaches and football five. Although Columbia through its faculty committee was willing to let a large measure of control slip to the alumni, it was in no way willing to compromise ethical and academic standards in the interest of steady winning. The result was that coaches rotated while the “material” remained about the same.

Despite the troubles of crew and football coaches, it is not at all startling to find that the baseball, swimming, wrestling, and fencing coaches were, even in those comparatively early years, enjoying long tenure. They were not consistent winners, but neither were they hounded by their alumni groups. This is not to say that these groups were less desirous of victory than those which hovered over crew and football. It may be that crew and football alumni are a different breed, or maybe it is just that there are more of them. Public opinion is not a negligible factor, and it, too, seems to have been exerted only on crew and football.

From 1915 to 1930, Andy Coakley's baseball teams won few championships. Outstanding players of the twenties were John Lorch, Art Smith, Al Kunitz, and Jack Van Brocklin. By far, the outstanding event of Columbia baseball during the twenties was the fact that Lou Gehrig played.

Basketball teams, coached by Joseph Deering from 1921 to 1924 and by Dan Meenan from 1925 to 1931, won the Eastern Intercollegiate Basketball Championship three times. John Lorch was an all-American basketball selection in 1927 and George Gregory one in 1931. The 1930 team went through the league without a single defeat, and four of the starting five—Bender, Schoenfeld, Gregory, and Magurk—made the all-League team. Bender led the League in scoring in 1930 and 1931.

During the twenties team championships eluded the able and likable Carl Merner. He had to be content with individual track stars like Higgins, Hagen, and O'Conner.

In the same period, Ed Kennedy's swimmers, like Merner's trackmen, lacked the squad depth to win team titles. There were however some brilliant performers, Volmer, Wright, and Ruddy among them. About this time and earlier experts like Cooper and Ruddy in the mad game of water polo provided Columbians with a kind of homicidal but nonetheless official and satisfying revenge for lost swimming meets.

The latter part of the period of faculty committee control has been summarized in this fashion:

During the 1920's intercollegiate athletics at Columbia was hampered by limited success on the playing field, continued reverses in finances, an increasing influence exerted by the alumni, a rapid turnover in coaches of crew and football, and a constant struggle for better facilities. Continually existing was the paradox of both students and alumni demanding potent athletic teams in an institution which did not have the resources or the desire to produce such teams.¹²

The paradox just mentioned has an eternal quality, but to leave it at that is to accept a kind of aphorism which says a lot without saying enough. Our College desires victory indeed, but it is a desire held within bounds. Columbia was and is too deeply committed to its primary educational objectives and too little dependent upon athletic prowess for its prestige as a College to permit any strong wish, however sincere, to reach the pitch of passion or obsession. With laudable firmness, earlier temptations have been avoided.

In 1931 the University Trustees took over control of intercollegiate athletics. The financial loss incurred under the faculty committee regime was apparently the principal aspect of the entire tangled problem which moved the Trustees to action. Pointed criticism of the existing policy from certain alumni quarters may perhaps have been a consideration, but the Trustees as a body form a solid, fairly unexcitable group. In their corporate capacity they live some laborious days and they can take a lot of irritating. What they cannot take indefinitely is too much red ink.

For the year 1927 the Athletic Association deficit was \$39,000, bringing the total accumulated debt of that organization to more than \$100,000. Income was derived almost entirely from football receipts, and the football teams of the late twenties were not big gate attractions. The University was paying a rapidly mounting share of the bills, and because of what Red Smith calls "the widespread popularity of money," the authorities began to look for remedies. By 1930 the Association's indebtedness to the University had passed the \$200,000 mark.

The Trustees did not act hurriedly. In 1927 President Butler appointed a committee from the Board

to study intensively and thoroughly the entire system of the organization of athletics at Columbia and to report to the trustees with recommendations as

¹² Ziegenfuss, "Intercollegiate Athletics at Columbia University."

to (a) a permanent system of organization for the administration and control of athletic sports and intercollegiate activities, (b) a plan of financial administration that will relieve the general income of the University from charges on this account.

This committee set forth the following statements and recommendations:

1. Athletics, intramural and intercollegiate, are a proper part of college activities.
2. No American college or university provides current expenses for athletics out of corporate funds.
3. The Trustees should not finance and administer athletics.
4. The Trustees should provide and maintain at the expense of the University the permanent plant and facilities for athletics, but the students and alumni should bear the expense of training, coaching, conditioning, and equipping, as well as all other current expenses of organized athletics.

Once again the final truth about control and administration rose from its well, looked right in the eye of the examiners, and passed on unrecognized.

At an earlier time, the students had taken the attitude that as long as the alumni were paying, they might as well govern. Now, in the fall of 1928, the alumni by a similar course of reasoning were reaching the conclusion that as long as the University was paying for athletics, the University might as well take over the whole responsibility for control and management. But as has just been noted, the 1927 Trustee committee rejected this solution and, of course, the University declined. A frank expression of the alumni view, with some equally frank statements that coaching was poor, material and victories scarce, and schedules unattractive, appeared in successive issues of the *Alumni News* beginning December 7, 1928. University officials called these utterances "washing dirty linen in public," which flattered the circulation manager without soothing the alumni. They also hinted at a withdrawal of support, a step which would undoubtedly have crippled athletics for years to come.

The wrangling went on and in 1929 another committee of Trustees was appointed by the President to study the athletic problem. This one, after careful study, put its finger accurately on the solution and almost completely reversed the recommendations of the 1927 committee. The members of the 1929 committee were Frederick Coykendall, Archibald Douglas, Albert W. Putnam, and Linsley R. Williams.

There were later Trustee committees, but this one provided the pattern for our present system. If, in reading over the 1929 report, it now seems

that the conclusions were indicated long before the committee started, it is well to bear in mind the recurrent bungling, the hasty improvisations, and the conflicting purposes which had previously harassed capable, earnest men in their many attempts to solve the problems of Columbia athletics.

As part of its work, the committee solicited the written opinion of five men who occupied key posts in the University administration. Because the committee's findings were in part derived from the replies, and because the writers (three deans, a director, and the secretary of the University) disclose interesting information, a few excerpts from their letters are included here.

We should never forget that Columbia College is severely handicapped by its urban situation and the lack of wide spaces in which our students may spread out. When one compares our physical situation with that of any of the country colleges like Princeton or Dartmouth our handicap is sufficiently obvious. Consequently, it seems to me highly desirable to do anything that we properly can to reduce the handicap which our situation necessarily implies.

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In all walks of life bodily vigor and health are essential to a successful career. Hence anything that either directly or indirectly builds up bodily strength should be encouraged. This should be the ultimate purpose of athletics, whether interclass or intercollegiate. Here again the participation of a few is rather subversive of the general purpose. Nevertheless the general interest in athletic sport aroused and maintained by intercollegiate rivalry is very potent in inducing young men to share in athletic sport as widely as possible so that many students and not a few specially trained men share in athletic sport. The question of finances is puzzling. I wish the nonproductive contests, e.g., rowing, could be financed through the university funds from a special endowment. Rowing at Columbia has always been a credit to the University and as now directed does interest a goodly number of students. The fact that this sport does not call for an admission fee places it on a very high although expensive plane.

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If intercollegiate athletics were abolished at Columbia it would grieve a large number of alumni. How seriously I do not know, but it is certain that the athletic activities of the students of an institution are the things that most readily come to mind in groups of Alumni.

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I must confess that when I think of scholarship I can easily dispense with the distractions of athletics. I realize, however, that we are dealing with boys

who go to college for many different reasons and who generally want to go to a college which represents student life as distinct from scholarship.

. . . .

I said at the time, and I still feel, that Baker Field came to us too soon, yet it is one of those things which must be taken when it can be had. We were getting along very well, gradually building ourselves up and paying our bills as we went along. The acquisition of Baker Field, however, gave us the opportunity for expansion and with everybody's consent, including that of interested Trustees, we expanded. You of course know the terrible blow that the death of Percy Haughton was to this whole movement. In athletics financial success goes only where there is reasonably consistent performance. With the exception of football, we are moderately successful in all of our sports; unfortunately football is the financial pivot.

. . . .

We have an honorable history of training leaders for public life and for important places in the professions and in industry and we ought to continue to have that as our aim. To hit the mark requires careful selection of raw material for the degree-granting schools of the University. That this educational problem should in any sense be bound up with a football team or any program of extra-curricular activities is regrettable and an absurdity, but American life being what it is, I think it is a fact and a fact which we must consider.

Here is the heart of the 1929 committee report:

We submit, therefore, that intercollegiate athletics is a proper and necessary part of the program of activities of Columbia College and we believe the University cannot escape the responsibility for the conduct of this activity. It is clearly a neglect of responsibility and an illogical course to permit a group of volunteer alumni to arrange athletic contests as they feel inclined and expect them to assume responsibility for their entire conduct, financial and otherwise.

We therefore recommend that the President be authorized to appoint a Director of Athletics who shall have university standing and who shall under the President have full direction of the athletic program of the University. He should be paid a proper salary and be given such office staff and allowances as may be necessary, and cost of all this to be included as an item in the University Budget.

The adoption of such a plan should place athletics on a permanent basis and will relieve the University Athletic Association from the necessity of earning money from gate receipts to provide for its administrative expenses and will permit the adoption of schedules better suited to our students and at the same time center complete financial control where full information is available for the Trustees at all times.

In 1931 the same Trustees, Coykendall, Douglas, Putnam, and Williams, were reappointed for another study. Their conclusions did not differ from those reached in 1929, and Dean Hawkes's annual report of 1931 stated:

The entering wedge for Trustees' control of athletics was driven in when the participation in sports was accepted as a part of the requirement for the degree in physical education, thus to a certain slight extent awarding the Bachelor's degree for the playing of games. Of course this step necessarily follows the acceptance on the part of the College of responsibility for the care of the physical side of students, provided one admits that the playing of games is a good method of keeping physically fit. . . .

So far as Columbia College is concerned, the important change . . . is nothing more than the reorganization of the administrative responsibility for intercollegiate athletics so as to place it directly under the Trustees of the University. . . . The Director of Athletics and the Director of the Gymnasium both report through the head of the Department of Physical Education, thus bringing together under one administration all of the interests that have to do with the normal aspects of the physical side of our students. . . .

With the acceptance of the educational responsibility for athletics, a certain amount of financial responsibility necessarily follows. Just as we aim to secure the most skillful and competent trainers for our College Orchestra . . . who shall at the same time be members of our Department of Music, so we shall hope to retain the best of teachers of athletic games. As our Glee Club takes part in the Intercollegiate Song Contest for which admission is charged, so may our teams take part in athletic contests for which admission is charged. . . . The entire emphasis, however, is shifted toward the educational side of things; and the new form of administration of athletics is so adjusted as to encourage further shifting in the same direction.¹³

On July 1, 1931, Dr. Edward S. Elliott was appointed Director of Athletics; this was the antepenultimate step. The next was Ralph Furey's appointment in 1943 and the last was the announcement in 1946 that he was to be Director of Physical Education and Intercollegiate Athletics. This represented the ultimate step in the administrative development of college athletic programs.

The fifteen years from 1931 to 1946 were not without their crises: crew did not prosper and the national depression severely tried the new athletic administration. There was now, however, an important difference as regards the budget. The new financial exigencies seemed to be far more soluble than those which had occurred under earlier athletic administrations operating in times of national prosperity.

¹³ *Annual Report*, 1931, pp. 67-68.

It is not far wrong to say that *Spectator* gave Trustee-controlled athletics more trouble than did the depression. The College paper in the person of a crusading student editor attributed to Columbia every one of the malpractices of professionalism. Angry alumni and uncomfortable administrators joined the controversy. On October 25, 1932, President Butler (wearily, we suppose) appointed a committee composed of two Trustees, two professors, one alumnus, and two students to study and investigate athletics at Columbia. The committee report, a very thorough and careful job, surprised no one by finding the *Spectator* accusations unjust.

Since the middle thirties, and with increasing frequency up to the present, Columbia has served as a model and has been cited for its sound administration of athletics. During recent years, almost all of the "big" stories pertaining to the conduct of college athletics have made Columbia directly or by inference look very, very good. Our own history as well as what we see around us provides fairly clear evidence to support the contention that the University Trustee method of controlling college athletics is superior to all others.

Reams of copy have been written about Columbia's present football coach. It's too bad more of it has not been done by Red Smith. Of the countless articles written about Lou Little, I have seen only one that was not an encomium. Actually, it was an unfair piece, but by contrast it was undeniably refreshing. To many Americans, Lou Little seems to stand just a cut below baseball and the United States Marines.

That Little is a great coach, the man who put Columbia football before the nation, no one can deny. Other universities have made several attempts to lure him from us. Because of him and his ability, Columbia football is at once "big time" without the evils of "big time." His skill and almost fanatical drive for perfection have extracted from Columbia's material (on the whole, less promising than that attracted by our opponents) amazing results. The fact that he does not renounce the platitude that Columbia has inferior material may irritate his players, but it is coachly, understandable, and, many feel, quite true. His teams have always been well coached, well conditioned, and (to this he devotes a great deal of his time) well behaved.

Between 1931 and 1934 his teams won 30, tied 2, and lost but 4 games between them, and following the 1933 season, Columbia was picked to represent the East in the Rose Bowl. There the Lions, regarded at best by the West Coast pundits as "a pretty good little team," easily defeated mighty Stanford. The victory was no fluke. The play on which Colum-

bia scored, KF79, a deceptive reverse, required perfect timing and execution. Little was the man to see it perfected. Columbia was close to another touchdown when the game ended.

KF79 was analyzed, eulogized, copied, loaned, borrowed, "stolen," photographed, mimeographed, and, for all anyone knows, tattooed. The play came home to roost and to plague Columbia players of later years. Opposing teams had KF79, "but badly run," of course, and they sometimes had the gall to score against us with it. If one of our players forgot his assignment on KF79, it was regarded as a sacrilege first-class. One afternoon at Baker Field, Ted Ruberti, a center on the 1939, 1940, and 1941 teams, was asked by a coach, "What do you do on KF79?"

Ruberti answered, "I stand at attention and salute."

Some outstanding players of Little's early teams were Hewitt, who beat Cornell in 1930 with a 53-yard drop kick and a 90-yard touchdown from kickoff, Rivero, Sherwood, Grenda, Joe Stanczyk, Little's first captain at Columbia and present backfield coach, Chippendale, McDuffie, Ciampa, Wilder, Ferrera, Barabas, Montgomery, Nevel, McDowell, Brominski, Dzamba, Anthony "Red" Matal, now end coach, Joe Coviello, and George Furey, the third of the four Fureys, present Director of Freshman Athletics and Freshman football coach.

In later years Little has coached many fine players, some relatively unheralded: Johnny and Joe Siegel, Ed and Les Stanczyk, John Bateman, now our line coach, Barber, Bonom, Seidel, De Augustinis, Sweeney, Gallagher, Will, Makofske, Wood, the Snavelys, Rock, and Phil Bayer, whose touchdown won the Georgia game in 1940 and who, as a Marine hero, met his death on Peleliu in September, 1944. Following World War II there were Yablonski, Shekitka, Olsen, Audette, the Norks, the Wards, and Hansen. Then there have been Little's great ones of recent years—Luckman, Governali, Rossides, Kusserow, Swiacki, and Price. There are not many coaches who have turned out four passers to compare with Luckman, Governali, Rossides, and Price. Three of these men came from New York City—Luckman and Rossides from Brooklyn and Governali from the Bronx. In the face of the talk about geographic distribution it may be well to remark that some of the best men who came to Columbia came by subway. Governali, now coaching the backfield at Columbia, made every big all-American team in 1942, and he is the only Columbia man ever to receive the Maxwell Award as "player of the year." He still holds or shares six Columbia single-game and season records.

Some of the men who were outstanding in baseball as well as football are Ralph Furey, Hewitt, Barabas, Matal, Brominski, McDowell, Luck-

man, Governali, Swiacki, Price, and Tracy. Coach Coakley's all-time outfield is made up of Hewitt, Barabas, and Governali, three of Columbia's greatest football players. A few men like McDowell, Tomb, Vollmer, Naylor, McIlvennan, Will, Maack, and Gherke played football and basketball. McDowell and Gherke are two of the very few men since 1900 who played three varsity sports.

Under Little's leadership, the 1947 team came from two touchdowns behind and matched, for many, the achievement of the Rose Bowl victory by snapping the thirty-two-game winning streak of a great Army team.

Little is a good friend to his players before and after they graduate. While they are in school, he drives them hard on the quality of their grades as well as their football ability. On the field he completely dominates his coaches as well as his players and puts "the fear of God" into everyone. At least one squad perpetuated the mildly blasphemous myth that Lou and the Lord were close friends who used to confer on general policy as well as particulars, such as whether it was going to rain the Saturday we played Cornell. One day, two players who had been summoned were waiting outside the open door of the coach's tiny John Jay office. His phone rang; they saw him pick it up, wait, and then exclaim, "God Almighty! How are you?" The boys gasped, and one said, "Holy smoke! It's true!"

One last story may illustrate not only his sharp sense of publicity and public relations but his humor and understanding of young men. We were scrimmaging Rutgers. The season had not yet begun and the exhibition was closed to all but favored alumni and the press. Both teams had scored once and the blocks and tackles were crisp. In the heat of things, a Rutgers man clipped our fullback, Len Will. Now, such an infraction is enough to anger any teammate, but when the injured friend is Len Will, it is doubly infuriating. Will was one of the best liked men on the squad, a complete gentleman possessed of remarkable athletic ability. He could knock you down hard, then help you up as if he really meant it. At any rate, Will was lying on the field hurt and one of our players ran over to the Rutgers man who had done the clipping and started to fight. Quickly, as the sports writers say, "cooler heads prevailed." Yet one was not cool: Lou Little tore into Will's defender with a verbal blast that blew the man off the field. As the writers and alumni listened avidly, Lou followed our man off every step of the way. Laced through the growls and snarls were heard remarks like ". . . no gentleman . . . fighting . . . disgrace to Columbia . . . sportsmanship." He seemed to overdo it. After the scrimmage, those present trooped into the

locker room followed by Lou. There, seated dejectedly by his locker, was the berated man still wearing his sweaty uniform. Lou pushed through the players and stood before him. Everyone waited silently. Then Lou burst out, "For the love of God, Frank, when you throw a punch, step in and *throw* it."

In 1931 Leon Prince, an ex-swimmer and chairman of the minor sports organization, brought about with the help of the administration and the approval of the Varsity "C" Club the elimination of the rating "minor" sports. The recognition on an equal basis of all sports is now a trend in college athletics.

Basketball under coach Paul Mooney won a championship in 1936, but despite outstanding players of the thirties like Jones, Wolff, Casey, Nash, and O'Brien, it enjoyed only a fair record. Coaches Cliff Battles, the great Washington Redskin halfback, and Elmer Ripley followed Mooney, and then in 1946 came Gordon Ridings. In spite of the brilliant record of the basketball team in the early years, younger alumni are tempted to divide the history of Columbia basketball into Before and After Ridings. He was Ralph Furey's first appointment under the new policy of giving coaches faculty status and making them full-time members of the Department of Physical Education. There could not be a better example than Ridings of the worth of this system. Led by Budko, all-League in 1947 and 1948, Skinner, and Marshall, all-League in 1945 and 1948 respectively, Columbia won championships the first two years Ridings coached. We then placed second twice, but just before the opening game of what would have been Ridings's fifth year, he suffered a heart attack. That 1950-51 team, taken over by Lou Rossini, went on to win the League championship and finish the regular season as the country's only undefeated team. The starting five of this brilliant squad were Captain Azary—all-League in 1950 and 1951—Molinas, Powers, Reiss, and Stein. Ridings has recovered and is now a full-time professor in the Department of Physical Education. He is no longer varsity coach, Rossini having been appointed. In the 1947-48 and 1949-50 seasons, Ridings's teams snapped victory streaks of great Holy Cross fives. Both these years Holy Cross had won twenty-six games in a row before losing to Columbia.

In 1944 the popular John Balquist, '32, returned to Columbia to join the Department of Physical Education and to help Coakley in coaching baseball. Professor Balquist became head coach when Coakley retired in 1951.

In recent years swimming had stars like Krissel, the Callahans, Jack Brown, McKinley, Rogers, and Batterman.

Wrestling, under Gus Peterson since 1915, turned out individual champions like Lee, Pascarella, Amy, Barish, Hendry, Clark, King, Chilvers, Kalajian, Johnson, Carruthers, Taylor, O'Shaughnessey, and, under Professor Dick Waite, young and able head coach since 1949, Manfrini and Hartman.

The third of four head coaches under the new system is Walter Raney of crew. He replaced Hubert, the last of the three Glendons, in 1947. Raney came from the crew country of the Pacific Northwest after Columbia had come in last in all three races of the Poughkeepsie Regatta. At Washington he had known only winning crews. Columbia rowing had been of poor quality since the early thirties and Raney came into a difficult job. Among the students he has made rowing popular once more. And under Raney Columbia crews will win again. His excellent but light crew placed fifth in the 1953 Regatta on Lake Onondaga. Navy won and Columbia beat California, Penn, Princeton, Syracuse, M.I.T., and Stanford.

In the thirties track had world sprint champion Ben Johnson, as well as Ganzlen, Ryan, Weast, Pitkin, Potter, Pappas, and Patterson; in the forties, Vessie, Holland, and Berger. The 1937 team won the Metropolitan and the Indoor Intercollegiate meets. It lost the outdoor ICAAAA by one-half point to Pittsburgh. Edgar "Dick" Mason, the sprinter who scored the crucial points for Pitt that day, replaced Carl Merner on the latter's retirement in 1953. Stars of our latest teams are Shaw, 1952 Olympic jumper, Thompson, outstanding weight man, and Schlereth, middle-distance ace.

The amiable Carroll "Tex" Adams coached tennis and conducted the intramural program. He, too, is a professor in the Department of Physical Education. We have not had strong tennis teams in a long while, but as in track and swimming, tennis has had individual stars like Dave Jones, Hartman, and Ganzenmuller.

The fourth head coach secured by Ralph Furey following the merger of the Department of Physical Education and Intercollegiate Athletics was Servando J. Velarde, Jr., engaged in 1949. Jimmy Murray's fencing teams had won numerous titles in his fifty years. He had outstanding men like Armitage and Alessandrini, but college fencing has few records to match Velarde's. Fresh from West Point, where, as one of the youngest coaches in the country, he led Army to a National Championship, he made the following uncoachly prediction: "In the first year we'll double the number of last year's victories and in the third we'll win the National Championship." His fellow coaches shook their heads, and the Director

of Sports Publicity blanched. Velarde's statement proved to be too modest. In his first year the team more than doubled the victories of the previous year and placed second in the intercollegiates. In Velarde's second year they won the Ivy League and National Championships. Neilsen, Kracjir, and Chafetz made all-American and Ralph Furey's office was glutted with trophies.

Since 1931, when Intercollegiate Athletics came under Trustee control, records of victories and defeats of every activity but crew showed improvement. Such records are a poor gauge for the measurement of athletics as a medium of education. But certainly the fact that we have improved our records is no mark *against* the present administrative system. The environment in which the activities function is *the* vital consideration. At Columbia it is healthful.

On January 4, 1946, the Trustees of Columbia University received from a Special Committee on Columbia College a report which recommended the consolidation of the departments of Physical Education and Intercollegiate Athletics. The Committee was composed of three Trustees, three faculty members, and three alumni; its chairman was Albert W. Putman. The first three recommendations were:

1. That the Departments of Intercollegiate Athletics and Physical Education (including Intra-mural Sports) be organized as soon as practicable into a single department under a single administrative officer with two associates to assist him in the conduct of the two principal divisions of the department.
2. That the staff of the consolidated department comprise all coaches of athletic teams, all members of the physical education staff and such assistants as may be required.
3. That so far as practicable all members of the staff in both divisions be appointed by the Trustees to give full time service on either an academic year or a year-round basis, all such full time members to be included in the University's pension and retirement program and to receive all the benefits of academic status.

During the spring the recommendations were approved and on July 1 the consolidation under Ralph Furey was effected.

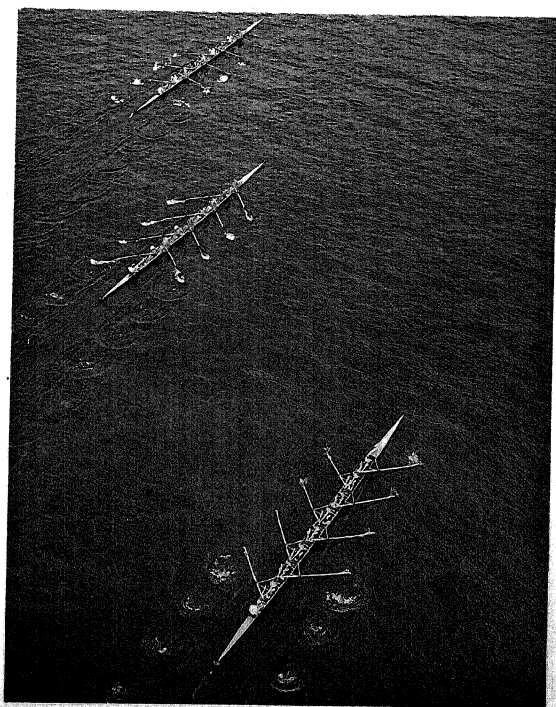
The philosophy of the present system of staffing the consolidated department has been briefly stated by Furey as follows:

We believe that all members of the Department of Physical Education, whether they be concerned with teaching, coaching, administration, or a combination of all three, should be appointed by the trustees to full-time



THE WINNING CATCH: COLUMBIA, 21—ARMY, 20, 1947

Wide World



POUGHKEEPSIE REGATTA

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service; and that they be given all of the privileges available to other members of the academic staff, including the opportunity of moving up the academic ladder, participation in the University retirement program, and tenure as outlined in the University statutes.

It is our plan to seek men whose academic and professional background and training qualify them for the important relationships which must of necessity exist between the coach and student in the modern athletic picture. It is our firm opinion that we can secure this type of person without sacrificing any of our objectives. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the calibre of the young coaches who have been brought into the Columbia athletic picture during the past six years completely substantiates this opinion.

At the time of the reorganization it was decided that the policy of staffing the department be evolutionary in nature. Of the nine varsity sports—baseball, basketball, crew, fencing, football, swimming, tennis, track, and wrestling—only two, football and swimming, are not coached by men who, in addition to their coaching duties, take over, in the off-season, a full teaching schedule of physical education classes. The students appreciate the obvious advantages of having the regular classes taught by the coaches. However, the off-season in football, even since the dropping of spring practice, is virtually nonexistent. Part of the work of a college coaching staff is to visit high schools and to talk with students, guidance counselors, and coaches. Obviously this work cannot be done during the fall when the season is in progress. Also, competition for players is sharp and a great deal of work is required to conduct even a moderately successful recruitment program. It remains to be seen whether it will be desirable to have so competitive, so time-consuming, and so financially important an activity as football coached by a man who, in addition, handles a program of regular physical education classes.

Our past, recollected in tranquillity, may seem to indicate that Columbia took a long time to accept athletics as a part, not an accouterment, of the College curriculum, but the fact is that most American colleges and universities are just now beginning to learn what we muddled through years ago. While the administration of the athletic program at Columbia has been completely reorganized, and the staff greatly strengthened by the addition of a number of promising young men, we do have one serious defect—our physical facilities.

The so-called University Gymnasium consists of a portion of an uncompleted building more than fifty years old. Outdoors, we have half a dozen tennis courts, and we have just lost, in the interests of beautifica-

tion, the small area of hard, grassless earth known as South Field, which used to carry the entire intramural and recreational load.

At Baker Field we have a fine gridiron, an excellent diamond, a good track, adequate crew facilities, and at last a modern field house available to our own and visiting teams. Nevertheless, for varsity football, we are still using the old wooden stands which were supposed to be temporary when constructed twenty-five years ago. We have inadequate seating facilities for baseball and none whatsoever for track. Furthermore, the uses of Baker Field itself have never been exploited to the full; badly needed practice fields for intercollegiate and intramural participation are still in the planning stage.

These are important improvements we must make; there are others. We face, every year more clearly, the stiffest competition in our quest to attract the academically qualified athlete. Stringent scholarship funds, less than attractive surroundings, and exacting standards of admission—all constitute a difficult and discouraging obstacle. It is a sad and simple truth that without outstanding athletes teams lose, and, ironically enough, outstanding prospects have a natural aversion to a loser. Other mournful factors and defects can be elicited, and in convincing detail, from any number of critics who are not enemies but friends. Some of the charges they make are true. But if you are inclined to look at the whole picture without seeking to flatter or vilify, then Columbia may impart to you that mysterious gift of strength that enables most of her sons to slough off the spurious ills and acknowledge, without panic or complacency, the true.

Mention must be made of some of the many men who have served Columbia athletics. There have been none more loyal than M. R. Broander, of the Athletic Association office, "Doc" Barrett, dean of College trainers, ticketman Al Schmitt, rigger "Pop" Johnson, launch driver Charles Buck, gym attendant "Chick" Antenucci, Dudley Hill, "Blue Pete," and "Pop" Holmes. Also the late Jimmy Judge, assistant trainer, and the late Carl Wallin, equipment man, who shared the wonderful capacity of treating every scrub like a star.

For those who need it there is at least one spot peculiarly insulated against many of the frustrations of our time. It is at the northern tip of Manhattan and it has not changed. Any afternoon in spring you can stand at the fence of the upper field and, with your back to the track, look down across the green diamond. If you follow the easy motion of the pitcher, the cut of the bat, and the white trajectory of the ball, your eye is drawn to the Harlem where you may—if times are right—see the

crew, a flat spider skimming the river. Behind you stands the Lion and overhead a plane drones west. To your left front, through the open cut of the stadium, you can see the emerald carpet and the stretching empty stands. This is the pit of loneliness, but if you love the place enough, you can almost hear the breathing and the roar that comes in autumn.

VI

THE MEN FROM MORNINGSIDE

by Gene R. Hawes

IN THE SPRING of 1953 there were some 18,000 living alumni of Columbia College whose names and addresses were on file at the University; they extended back to the sole surviving graduate of 1878. Since the move to Morningside, some 25,000 men in all have been College students in good standing for at least a year. This is the story of those 25,000 men and their immediate predecessors, primarily as they have influenced the College since the end of their undergraduate days.

The 25,000 are small in number compared with the corresponding groups of most other Ivy League colleges.¹ But by comparison with the aggregate of the earlier College alumni, the figure is impressive. Only a few years past the half-century mark, it is already five times the entire number of men enrolled in Columbia College in the nineteenth century—5,000. It is almost fifty times the total of 471 men who attended Columbia and its colonial forebear, King's College, in the eighteenth century.

To the world at large, the 25,000 are best known by the most famous among them. Taken individually, College alumni dominate book publishing as they do no other field: Alfred A. Knopf, '12; Richard L. Simon, '20; Max L. Schuster, '17; Bennett Cerf, '20, of Random House; Alfred Harcourt and Donald C. Brace, both '04; Douglas M. Black, '16, of Doubleday. Other publishers include Arthur Hays Sulzberger, '13, of the *New York Times*, and Elliott V. Bell, '25, of *Business Week*. Prominent

¹ Living, located college alumni, spring, 1953: Columbia, 18,000; Harvard, 40,000; Yale, 26,000; Princeton, 25,400; Dartmouth, 24,960.

College alumni writers are perhaps even more numerous. Among novelists are Herman Wouk, '34, Henry Morton Robinson, '23, Paul Gallico, '19, and Louis Bromfield, '20. Journalists include Daniel Longwell, '22, recent chairman of *Life* magazine's editorial board; James Wechsler, '35, editor of the *New York Post*; and Geoffrey Parsons, '99, for many years chief editorial writer of the *New York Herald Tribune*. Among notable critics and scholars are to be counted Irwin Edman, '17, Mortimer Adler, '23, Lionel Trilling, '25, Clifton Fadiman, '25, and Jacques Barzun, '27.

Creative artists of stage and screen loom large among the alumni, the most prominent at present being the team of Richard Rodgers, '23, and Oscar Hammerstein II, '16, and film writer-director Joseph L. Mankiewicz, '28. Innumerable individuals have made their names in other fields. In science, there are Nobel Prize winners John H. Northrup, '12, and Hermann J. Muller, '10; in art, Rockwell Kent, '07, and illustrator John Holmgren, '20; in national politics, Senator William Langer, '10, and his classmate, Representative Emanuel Celler, former Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, '08, and Representative Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., '18. In business, a minute sampling would include the late Leon Fraser, '09, M. Hartley Dodge, '03, board chairman of Remington Arms, Ward Melville, '09, president of the Melville Shoe Corporation, and William Gage Brady, Jr., '08, board chairman of National City Bank of New York; in education, the late Dixon Ryan Fox, '11, twelfth President of Union College, and James Stacy Coles, '36, President of Bowdoin College. Among many famed lawyers are Major General William J. Donovan, '05, Arthur Garfield Hays, '01, and Frank S. Hogan, '24. In religion, distinction has come to Thomas Merton, '37, author and Trappist monk, the Reverend Roelif H. Brooks, '00, New York clergyman, and the late Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, '92. For all its length, this enumeration can be only illustrative; scores of men of comparable prominence crowd the pen from the page.

Some idea of the relative numbers of College alumni who have become prominent in their chosen fields of work is given by a 1938 analysis of Columbia alumni in *Who's Who in America*. College alumni listed were shown to have a wider variety of occupations than the graduates of any of Columbia's other divisions. Those occupations that accounted for ten or more listed College alumni were: lawyers, 50; professors, 49; authors, writers, and playwrights, 42; educators, 34; clergymen and other religious figures, 28; physicians and surgeons, 22; editors and publishers, 13; and journalists, 12. In the three categories of diplomats, government and political leaders, and jurists, there were 8 each; also listed

were 9 bankers, 7 economists, and 5 corporation and business executives.²

Obviously, most of the 25,000 College alumni of the last half-century could not be famous and must hence be described in general rather than individual terms. Most of them enter upon professional rather than business careers. Of the members of the classes from 1890 to 1925, 53.6 percent had entered the five major professions (law, 20.9 percent; education, 13.3 percent; medicine, 11.3 percent; religion, 4.2 percent; and engineering, 3.9 percent), while 21.5 percent had entered three major business fields (mercantile, 9.6 percent; banking, finance, and brokerage, 7.1 percent; insurance and real estate, 4.8 percent).³ A strikingly large proportion of the College alumni have studied beyond the bachelor's degree; in 1913, 101 of the 180 graduating seniors registered for advanced work at Columbia alone the following fall; of the Class of 1953, three fourths planned to enter some professional or graduate school.

Of the total of 18,000 whose whereabouts are known, some 10,000 have remained in New York City, 5,000 living in the city itself and about another 5,000 living within fifty miles of it. The remaining 8,000—and probably a substantial part of the few thousand unlocated—are scattered throughout the country and the world. College alumni near peak earning power average around \$20,000 a year, judging from a 1950 survey of the Class of 1920, and range from under \$5,000 to over \$100,000. The same survey indicated a predominantly Republican political outlook, with current notables then “in lowest esteem” ranked as Stalin first, Truman second, and McCarthy third. Well over half of those answering took part in charitable, community, or Columbia activities.

It is through its effect on men like these that the College has principally made itself felt in the modern world. But they in their turn have left their mark upon Columbia, both as individuals and through their organizations. College alumni have almost always predominated among the Trustees; today, they account for 13 of the 24. The Trustees' Chairman, Frederick Coykendall, '95, is not at all unique in having risen to the Board through the alumni organization ranks. The two Presidents who led in the building of the University on Morningside Heights—Seth Low, '70, and Nicholas Murray Butler, '82—were College alumni, as was Acting President Frank D. Fackenthal, '06, who guided Columbia through the difficult years after World War II and remains a Trustee.

² *Columbia Alumni News*, XXIX, No. 15 (May 20, 1938), 11.

³ From an occupational survey based on data gathered for the latest edition of the *Columbia Alumni Register*, published in 1932; see *Columbia Alumni News*, XXIV, No. 4 (October 21, 1932), 3.

The first three College deans—Drisler, 1839, Van Amringe, '60, and Keppel, '98—had served as College Alumni Association officers, as had Low and Fackenthal. Columbia's faculty, at one time composed almost exclusively of alumni, still derives an important part of its character and reputation from its College alumni members.⁴

But it is not only as individuals that College alumni have helped shape Columbia's course; the various alumni organizations have likewise played an influential role. This has been particularly true since the 1890's. At that time, the Association of the Alumni of Columbia College constituted the major College alumni organization, with over 700 members out of at most some 3,000 living graduates.⁵ Alumni wings of student activities—principally athletic but also literary, like Philolexian—functioned erratically. Classes had long been active; 1842 held a tenth-anniversary reunion, apparently one of the earliest classes to do so, and 1874 had since graduation held a series of annual reunions that was to continue at least through its sixtieth in 1934.

Older still than class activity, the Association itself had been founded in 1825 for the purpose of holding an annual meeting to commemorate the first Commencement. These annual meetings, featuring an address and, later, an original poem, had continued regularly. The organization had taken its present name in 1831 and in 1856 had adopted a statement of general purpose which remains today a part of its constitution. Until the mid-seventies, however, the group had been, as *Acta Columbiana* irreverently expressed it, "a mere fortuitous concourse of atoms."⁶ About that time an unusually large influx of recent graduates brought new life to the Association and led to its incorporation in 1874. The most enduring consequence of this aroused activity was the introduction of the Standing Committee, which has since met regularly to discuss and act on College problems.

⁴ Among many College alumni now on the faculty are Philosophy Professor Edman; English Professor Trilling; History Professor Barzun; Public Administration Professor Arthur W. Macmahon, '12, a former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Philosophy Professors John Herman Randall, Jr., and James Gutmann, both '18; English Professor William Y. Tindall, '25, the James Joyce scholar; General Studies Dean Louis M. Hacker, '20; School of International Affairs Director Schuyler Wallace, '19; Zoology Professor Francis J. Ryan, '37; and History Professors Emeriti Robert L. Schuyler, '03, and Carlton J. H. Hayes, '04, wartime ambassador to Spain. History Professor Dwight C. Miner, '26, is Columbia's Bicentennial historian.

⁵ By the 1890's there were also alumni associations representing Physicians and Surgeons, dating from 1859, and Mines, from 1871. A Law association had been established in 1860, but none of its records from 1872 to its revival in 1903 remain.

⁶ *Acta Columbiana*, October, 1874, p. 5.

Thus, by the 1890's the Association was prepared to play an important role in Columbia's move and its subsequent development on the Heights. George L. Rives, '68, a former Association president, was then Chairman of the Trustees. When in 1890 Drisler and Low, two other former presidents, were named respectively Dean of the School of Arts and eleventh President of Columbia, the Association was bound more closely than it had ever been before to the Columbia administration.

The new President moved immediately to capitalize on the tie, and the alumni responded with enthusiasm. Over 350 attended the Association dinner on February 3, 1890, honoring Low's installation that day. For the occasion, the dining hall of the Hotel Brunswick was "transformed" with blue and white bunting—on the tables, on the walls, hanging from the chandeliers. Crew trophies of Saratoga and Henley, the Harlem and the Thames, were displayed. In his address that evening, Low invited \$25,000 in alumni contributions to outfit an athletic field—to be Columbia's first. A subscription started at the dinner raised \$10,000 "within a few moments" and subsequently added another \$10,000. These and additional funds from the alumni were used to purchase and equip the field at Williamsbridge, in the Bronx, that served a number of Columbia's minor sports until 1903.

Low's announcement of the proposed move to Morningside Heights, made at the annual Association dinner in 1891, received immediate approval. This announcement was followed two months later by the establishment of a "committee of fifty," under the chairmanship of former Mayor Abram S. Hewitt, 1842, to aid the President in "furthering the removal of the College" to the new location. It was a time of mixed feelings, of pride in Columbia's rapid rise to the fore among American universities and of fear for the future of the School of Arts. As if to symbolize the end of an era, Henry Drisler retired from the deanship in the spring of 1894. The College Association's reception in his honor that May, the function with which Lionel Trilling's chapter in this volume opens, also honored Dean-elect John Howard Van Amringe, Association president since 1891 and one of its officers for more than thirty years.

In view of the great expense involved in the projected move, it was Low's plan to use the resources of the College for the purchase of the site and to rely upon the public and friends of the institution for gifts of its buildings. The committee of fifty therefore selected for alumni sponsorship one of the most impressive of the projected buildings and the one which would be most intimately associated with the social life of the students. The recommendations of a subcommittee, submitted to the full

committee in March, 1895, spoke of a roomy lounge, a theater, a gymnasium; there was also to be a large dining hall, which was essential, the report observed pointedly, to any dormitory system, there being no restaurants in the neighborhood.⁷ An additional function of the projected building would be to serve as an alumni center, with meeting rooms and appropriate settings for the display of portraits of past worthies and of plaques recalling the services of Columbia men in the nation's wars. The proposed name: Alumni Memorial Hall.

Only after the Trustees, catching the drift of alumni sentiment, had passed a resolution approving the principle of a dormitory system and authorizing the Treasurer to receive gifts toward their construction did the full committee of fifty adopt the Memorial Hall project in December, 1896. A building fund drive for \$250,000 was launched early the next year with pledges of \$27,150. The committee of fifty was enlarged to include graduates of all other Columbia schools, and class committees were organized to canvass all members. The campaign was well under way when the new site was occupied in the fall of 1897.

At the time the selection of Memorial Hall had been approved, the present site of Fayerweather Hall had been tentatively designated as the location of the College classroom building. By the time the move occurred, however, the plans had been altered. The area just to the south of Schermerhorn Hall seemed better suited for the home of the Department of Physics, and the undergraduate work was therefore centered in the present Alumni House, then known as College Hall. The College alumni, led by Van Amringe, showed their resentment in successive reports of their standing committee. The 1898 report emphasized the "crying necessity" for dormitories and also urged the Association to take steps to provide a "suitable" academic building. A committee was accordingly established to invite subscriptions for a new College Hall and the appropriation of \$1,000 was voted for its work.⁸

There seems little doubt that this drive for a College building eventually caused the abandonment of the Memorial Hall project—the first of a number of adverse developments that have left University Hall un-

⁷ The original Columbia building on Park Place had not been used for student residence after about 1800, and no facilities for dormitories existed on the 49th Street campus. The alumni had gone on record as favoring the construction of dormitories as early as the 1870's.

⁸ At the annual meeting in 1899 that saw these measures approved, Frederick P. Keppel, '98, who was to succeed Van Amringe as Dean in 1910, was elected Association secretary and Frederick Coykendall, '95, was chosen to fill the resulting vacancy on the Standing Committee.

completed to the present day. Yet the plan was not dropped immediately. Low informed the alumni at their 1900 Commencement reunion that construction of the first story of University Hall—Memorial Hall proper—would begin that summer. (The lower part of the building, containing the gym, pool, and powerhouse, had already been built at a cost of one million dollars.) A year later 459 alumni gathered in the partially finished structure for their first "Commencement Luncheon," a function which continues in much the same form today. Van Amringe reported that slightly more than \$100,000 had been contributed to the Memorial Hall Fund. Of this amount, two thirds had come from College alumni.

Inasmuch as the science and engineering buildings had been grouped in the campus area to the northeast and northwest of the Low Library, the College alumni had to turn elsewhere to find a suitable center for undergraduate activities. The most desirable location for this purpose was obviously the property immediately to the south of 116th Street, between Broadway and Amsterdam Avenue. By arrangement with the owner (the New York Hospital), part of this land was already in use as an athletic field, and alumni leaders were soon pressing the University to acquire the entire two-block tract. The report of the Standing Committee for 1902, submitted a few months after Butler's inauguration as President, featured the hopeful announcement that "South Field, not as an athletic field, but as the site for Columbia College, with an ample and dignified College Hall, with dormitories and other appropriate buildings, forms the basis of the new appeal of the President to the friends of Columbia." When a sale to other parties became imminent shortly thereafter, a group of prominent alumni and wealthy New Yorkers met the crisis by purchasing an option on the property until October 1, 1903, and offering it to the Trustees. The Board, heavily burdened by the cost of developing the new site, now faced the task of raising \$2,000,000 before the expiration of the time limit.

Francis Bangs, who as chairman of the Standing Committee had been one of the chief campaigners for adequate College facilities, was at this time chairman of the Committee on Finance of the Board of Trustees. In the latter capacity, he proposed the sale of sufficient lots in the old Botanic Garden (now called the Upper Estate) to make the purchase. His proposal was accepted, but only at the last possible moment, the title being transferred on October 1. By this farsighted action, the University came into possession of the tract on the easterly part of which the College buildings now stand.

The progress of College alumni plans received fresh impetus in June,

1903, with the announcement of the gift of Hartley Hall—the College's first dormitory in more than a century—to be located on the South Field block. The gift was dramatically made by a College graduate of that spring, M. Hartley Dodge,⁹ and his aunt, Helen Hartley Jenkins, in memory of his grandfather and her father, Marcellus Hartley.

During 1903–4, the Standing Committee worked out a plan to raise current-use funds to assist the University in meeting operating expenses and interest connected with the acquisition of South Field and the maintenance of dormitories (including Livingston Hall, built with corporate funds, which went up simultaneously with Hartley). In conjunction with the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebration in the fall of 1904, the University Alumni Commemoration Fund committee addressed an appeal to alumni of all divisions. The results were disappointing, however, and after two years the project lapsed.

Although financial drives fell short of expectations, the College alumni achieved another major objective when Van Amringe, on September 27, 1905, laid the cornerstone of Hamilton Hall, officially designated as the home of Columbia College. The building was the gift of John Stewart Kennedy, Trustee from 1903 to 1910. The statue of Alexander Hamilton which stands before the main entrance was commissioned by the Association and executed by William Ordway Partridge, '85.¹⁰

After Van Amringe's death in the fall of 1915, a group of twenty-five College alumni and Mines graduates initiated plans for a memorial to him, which culminated in the dedication of the Van Am Memorial at the 1918 Commencement. With the completion of this project, which included the landscaping of the entire quadrangle, the area bordered by Hamilton Hall and the College dormitories assumed its present form (except for John Jay Hall). The heart of the College campus was complete; to the extent that the College alumni gave of their resources in energy and skill and funds to provide it, it stands today as their monument.

While striving for an undergraduate campus, College alumni also took the lead in bringing the separate school alumni associations together in a central organization. Van Amringe and John B. Pine were later credited

⁹ Dodge was elected a Trustee four years later—one of the youngest men ever to be so honored—and has served as Clerk of the Trustees since 1923, succeeding to the office upon the death of John B. Pine, '77, in 1922.

¹⁰ The statue, presented in 1908, represents Hamilton in his early thirties urging ratification of the Federal Constitution before the New York State Convention of 1788. The cost of the work was met by a \$6,000 appropriation from the Association and a \$1,000 gift from President Butler. The Association also contributed the expense of carving the seals of King's College, of Columbia under the Regents of the State of New York, and of Columbia under its present charter which ornament the south façade of the building.

with initiating this movement, which got under way in 1894. In November of that year, some 450 College, Mines, and Physicians and Surgeons alumni held a special meeting at Delmonico's to hear and adopt a proposal, presented by President Low, to form a joint coordinating body. An agreement establishing "The University Alumni Council of Columbia College" was signed the following June and Van Amringe became its first chairman—a post he retained throughout the Council's existence. Five delegates from each of the three associations constituted the Alumni Council's original membership.

Almost from the start, the Council worked to stimulate the formation of Columbia alumni clubs in nearby and distant cities. There were but two or three such organizations when the Council was formed; ten years later, Council-affiliated clubs were functioning in eleven states, including Montana, Colorado, and California. The Council arranged a general alumni reunion for the 1898 Commencement—the first on the new campus and the first on a Columbia campus in over a century. More than 1,500 Arts and Mines men attended that day, many of them participating in class reunions held as a part of the larger affair. Similar Commencement reunions were repeated annually by the Council, with the distinctive luncheon feature of addresses by one or more honorary degree recipients being introduced in 1901. At the Council's instigation, the School of Law alumni association was revived in 1903 and joined the Council organization.

The emergence of a group that could represent all of Columbia's alumni through both school and regional organizations—and especially at a time when the University had begun seeking strong alumni support—set the stage for the next advance. This was touched off by Julien T. Davies, '66, College Association president, at the dedication of Hamilton Hall on February 2, 1907. In his address that afternoon, Davies revived the demand for official alumni representation on the Board of Trustees, observing that the alumni of almost every other major university in the nation were so represented.¹¹ President Butler in response pledged the administration to a serious consideration of the proposal.

Considering that this step had already been delayed for over half a century, events now moved rapidly to a conclusion.¹² By October, 1908,

¹¹ The first vigorous alumni effort for representation on the Board of Trustees occurred in 1850 (Minutes of the Trustees, June 17, 1850). The movement had been renewed periodically since that time.

¹² At the College Association's annual midwinter reunion that night in Hamilton Hall, a committee to draft a plan of representation was established. Invitations to the Science, P&S, and Law associations to the Alumni Council resulted in the formation of sim-

twenty-eight alumni groups had approved a plan worked out by committees representing the Trustees and the alumni organizations. At their meeting on December 7, 1908, the Board of Trustees took formal action to incorporate the new arrangement in the Statutes of the University. Columbia's first Alumni Trustee, Benjamin Bowden Lawrence, '78 Mines, was nominated by the alumni on April 22, 1909, and elected by the Trustees at their meeting the following October.

Under the plan, which is still in operation, six of Columbia's governing board of twenty-four Trustees are selected by the alumni, one succeeding to and one retiring from the Board each year, and each holding the office of Alumni Trustee for six years. One Alumni Trustee is nominated each spring (usually on Commencement Day) by a convention of delegates representing every school association and local club that has twenty-five or more members and chooses to participate.¹³ Voting strengths in the convention are proportional to membership. About a fourth to a third of all Federation members in recent years have been College alumni, and about another third have been Law, Engineering, and P&S alumni combined. Apparently as a result, two or three Alumni Trustees have generally been College alumni over recent years, while Law, Engineering, and P&S have usually each been represented by one Alumni Trustee.¹⁴ At the time of his election by the Trustees in the fall, the nominee is required to file his resignation with the clerk, effective six years later; never yet have the Trustees failed to elect a nominee, though they could technically do so. The fiftieth Alumni Trustee of the University was nominated on Commencement Day of 1953. Eight of these fifty, including the present Chairman of the Board of Trustees, have subsequently become life Trustees.

Two concomitant features of the Alumni Trustee system had an important bearing on the future course of alumni affairs: the Alumni Council was given the responsibility for administering the system, and each

ilar committees by each group. A general committee representative of these groups was organized on Commencement Day of 1907. Meanwhile, the Trustees had formed a special committee on alumni representation.

¹³ Selection is thus not made by popular ballot; some associations do run elections of delegates by postcard ballot, but the various delegates are not pledged to any candidates on it. The executive bodies of other groups simply appoint their delegates. Traditionally, delegates are men long active in alumni life who are well acquainted with their fellow leading alumni. Most often they go to the nominating conventions uninstructed and freely exercise their best personal judgment in the selection of a nominee.

¹⁴ Quite often a double-degree holder—a man who is a graduate of the College and one other Columbia school—is nominated. Such men offer the opportunity of representation to a wide variety of schools.

participating alumni group was required to pay Council dues of one dollar per member represented in the nominating conventions. Because of the first, President Butler appeared at the Council meeting in June, 1908, to urge that body to accept the services of Professor and Registrar Rudolph Tombo, Jr., Ph.D. '01, as the Council's secretary, and the use of an office in East Hall (now Alumni House). The Council acceded and Tombo entered upon his duties as Council secretary and University alumni secretary, the office opening under his direction early in 1909.

In addition to arranging and handling mailings for Council meetings, general alumni functions, and the Alumni Trustee nominating conventions, Tombo's principal duty was the construction of accurate alumni membership lists. The Council office also arranged and occasionally financed visits to active or prospective local clubs by University or alumni officers. Multiplying alumni memberships and organizations steadily compounded its labors. A "Doctors of Philosophy" (now the Graduate Schools) association was founded on Commencement Day, 1905, and accepted membership in the Council.¹⁵

With its income from dues, the Council was enabled to start weekly publication of the *Columbia Alumni News* with the issue of September 27, 1909. The magazine was conceived as a medium for building informed opinion about Columbia affairs, particularly in view of the new role of the organized alumni in annually nominating a Trustee.

Although centered in the Council office, the editorial and business work of the *Alumni News* was performed by volunteer staff members.¹⁶ During the first year of publication, these were men fresh from the ranks of *Spectator*, with which it was identical in format and style. A reorganization aimed at producing a more thoughtful publication brought Robert Arrowsmith, '82, Ph.D. '84, to the editorship at the start of the second publication year. Under his guidance, the *News* continued to appear weekly, but its format and style were brought into closer conformity with magazine practices of the day.

All went well with this expanded scope of Council work except for one thing—finances. Alumni began to complain that the Council was University-dominated, and formal charges to this effect were made by the Mines association in 1910. As a result, the University withdrew its occasional financial support of projects to which the Council was com-

¹⁵ Tombo was the founding head of the Doctors of Philosophy organization and the historian Charles A. Beard, A.M. '03, Ph.D. '04, its founding secretary.

¹⁶ The first business editor was William Gage Brady, Jr., '08, later chairman of the board of the National City Bank of New York.

mitted, as well as Dr. Tombo's services, in 1911. That September, the Council elected as its secretary George B. Compton, '09, '13L, then a law student, and arranged to pay him on a part-time basis. Compton was thus Columbia's first alumni secretary to be supported by the graduates themselves. He was also elected College Association secretary the following month.

An enlarged independence did nothing, however, to improve the financial situation. By the spring of 1912, the Council faced a critical deficit of some \$3,000. A committee appointed to cope with the problem proposed sweeping retrenchment in Council activities. Almost alone and with an urgency which led him at one point to submit his resignation, Compton contended that the solution lay not in contraction but in expansion of the Council's role in alumni affairs. The organizational plan which he advanced was finally adopted after he had agreed to remain through its first year of operation. In accordance with the new scheme, on October 29, 1913, the Council delegates constituted themselves the first board of directors of the Alumni Federation of Columbia University. Compton assumed the post of executive secretary, at the same time succeeding Arrowsmith as editor of the *Alumni News*.

Under Compton's plan, individual members of any school association or local club affiliated with the Federation automatically received membership in the Federation as well. The Trustees supported this arrangement by agreeing to recognize Federation membership as a qualification for representation in the Alumni Trustee nominating conventions. The Federation flourished under Compton's aggressive and resourceful management¹⁷ and this system, with the *News* subscription included in Federation dues, was still in effect in the spring of 1953.

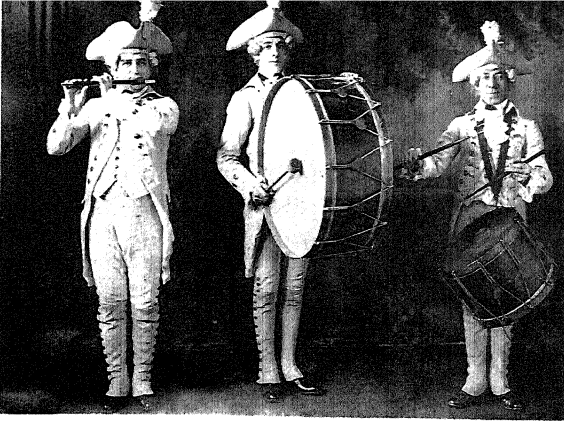
College alumni took a prominent part in initiating other important organizations and functions in the early years of this century. The University Club had been founded in 1865, and by 1899 the alumni of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Cornell had established their own clubhouses in the city. Proposals for organizing a Columbia Club gained considerable support around the time of the move to Morningside. Among older

¹⁷ In the Federation's first year, according to Compton's report, total membership climbed from 3,100 to 4,100 and, although the budget was three times as large as that of the old Council, the deficit declined. The rise in membership was accomplished primarily by making contact with the 10,000 nonmember alumni, most of whom had not heard from the University since graduation. The improvement in finances resulted from intensive fund-raising campaigns and from special College Association appropriations of \$1,200 each in 1912 and 1913. The Association also appropriated \$500 a year for the next four years in addition to its regular Alumni Trustee representation dues.

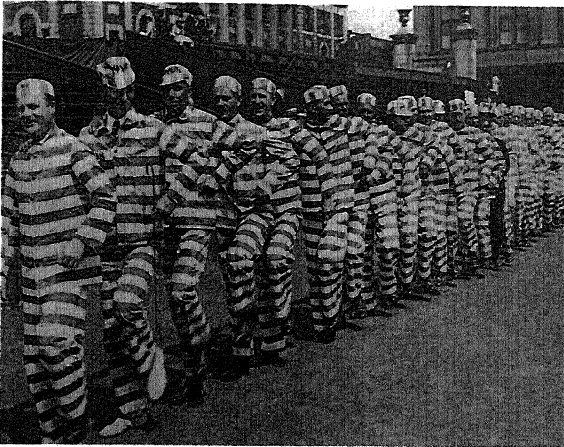
alumni a deadlock developed over the question of location—on the Heights or downtown. But a group of younger men, led principally by the Class of 1894, called more than 200 alumni together in August, 1901, for a meeting at which the Columbia University Club was founded. Any alumnus of the University or member of its teaching staff was, and still is, eligible for membership. The first “clubhouse” was opened in the Yacht Club rooms of the Hotel Royalton on West 43rd Street, just down the block from the present location. Van Amringe was elected president, holding this and the Federation presidencies until his death, and membership climbed so rapidly—from 200 in 1901 to 700 in 1903—that the club moved twice before settling down in a building at 18 Gramercy Park, purchased for \$150,000 in 1905. Expanding membership and activities brought the decision to move to still larger quarters—the present ones—in August, 1916. This well-appointed house at 4 West 43rd Street and its land, both owned by the club, had an assessed value of \$865,000 in 1951; membership has stood at about 1,600 over recent years.

In 1902 the Class of 1892 inaugurated the custom whereby the tenth-anniversary class entertained the other graduates at the Commencement reunion with music and sports on South Field. From this practice developed the colorful alumni Costume Parades at Commencement time, which soon spread to include any other classes which felt inclined to join in the cavorting. Usually, all the members of a class would be dressed alike—as toreadors, circus performers, “jailbirds,” Arab sheiks, pirates, “gobs,” Zulus, or English foxhunters. One year an entire class turned out wearing cap and gown and Van Am’s distinctive side whiskers. Stunts were sometimes combined with costumes—as in the Class of 1905’s I.W.W. riot of the 1915 Parade.

Though dropped during World War I, the Parades were resumed at the 1920 Commencement and became more lively than ever through that booming decade, when they were often held at Baker Field. Starting in 1926, when Columbia’s Commencement exercises moved outdoors, a separate day was set aside for the alumni high jinks and the associated festivities that ran through the evening. The last Costume Parade was held on South Field the day before the 1929 Commencement. Two factors seem mainly responsible for the disappearance of this custom: World War I, which had greatly disrupted the social unity of the classes which were marking their tenth anniversaries (always central in the affairs) in the late twenties; and the Great Depression, which made the expense of running the Parades, borne jointly by the anniversary classes and the Federation, unmanageable.

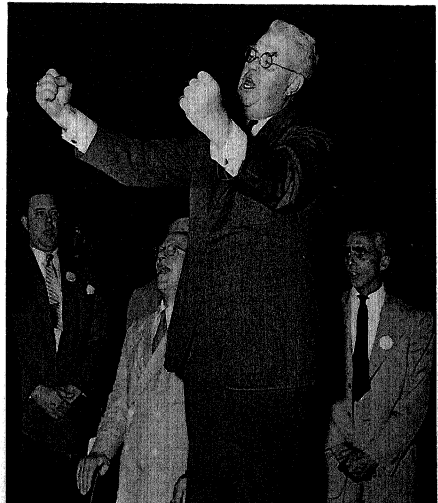


FIFE-AND-DRUM CORPS



COSTUME PARADE

Underwood and Underwood



"WHAT IF TOMORROW BRING . . ."

Another colorful activity, which unlike the Costume Parade continues today, began the night of Commencement Day in 1907. Members of the Class of 1882 Arts and Mines who had celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary that day gathered at the Lion Palace Cafe at 110th Street and Broadway and fell into a discussion of the coolness they and other graduates of the old 49th Street campus had come to feel toward Columbia, despite a natural pride in the fact that Nicholas Murray Butler, '82, held the highest office in the gift of the Trustees. For all its splendor, the new campus was unhallowed for them by memories of student days. Joined by graduates of 1880, 1881, 1883, and 1884, they decided to form an interclass organization—the "Early Eighties." An informal meeting on the Columbia University Club car of the train to the Poughkeepsie Regatta two weeks later resulted in an organization committee. The first Early Eighties annual dinner was held in December, 1907.

The idea quickly spread to other classes of the 49th Street campus. In 1909, members of classes previous to 1880 organized the Society of Older Graduates and elected Van Amringe president. In 1910, members of the classes of 1885 through 1889 formed the Upper Eighties; in 1913, members of 1895 through 1900 the Last of the Forty-niners. An episode of the first Upper Eighties dinner typifies the meetings of these grand old clans in their heyday. When the speeches began, five guests, who were present as representatives of the Early Eighties, withdrew from the room and shortly returned, headed by their three-man Fife-and-Drum Corps.¹⁸ Each Early Eighty member bore aloft a magnum of champagne marked with one of the Upper Eighty class numerals, which was deposited at the appropriate table. According to reports, adjournment was late.

It was the light-hearted, high-spirited, and devoted quality of these alumni rather than their organized achievements that was their major contribution to Columbia and its alumni life. For many years, individuals among them—like Arrowsmith—were leaders of the organized alumni; several of them became Trustees. Their class gifts and other donations to the University were remarkably generous, the Columbiana collection in particular owing more to the Early Eighties than to any other single group. As was inevitable, the Early and Upper Eighties died out as organizations over the 1940's. The Society of Forty-niners continues its annual meetings and other activities in the 1950's. The Society of Older Graduates insured its continuance by adopting in 1920 a "thirty-years-

¹⁸ A bass drummer, snare drummer, and fife-player, all clad in the uniform of the Continental Army, who regularly appeared and often led processions at major alumni reunions into the 1930's.

out" eligibility rule. It thus carries on vigorously today in the Early Eighties tradition. In all of these organizations, membership was, or still is, open only to College or Engineering alumni.

Another important alumni institution, which continues in modified form today, was inaugurated by the College Association on February 12, 1908—Alumni Day. Lincoln's Birthday being a public but not a University holiday, the alumni could conveniently return and see Columbia at work. Over 350 College and Engineering alumni and guests came to the first Alumni Day to visit with remembered professors and to watch a performance in the Chapel of Foucault's experiment demonstrating the earth's rotation. Subsequently sponsored by the Council and the Federation, Alumni Day on February 12 customarily drew an attendance of over 1,000 in the years just prior to World War I. It continued through the thirties to be a major annual event on the alumni calendar.

Inspired by a similar Dartmouth function, the 1929 Alumni Day dinner featured the first "Columbia Round the World Night." On this occasion, local alumni clubs everywhere held simultaneous meetings and sent in their telegraphic greetings to the central gathering. For the second Round the World Night at the 1930 Alumni Day dinner, arrangements were made to broadcast addresses by President Butler and Professor John Erskine, '00, over fifty-three domestic and three short-wave overseas stations of the NBC and CBS radio networks. More than thirty local clubs held meetings that night, and wires were received from Havana, Paris, Shanghai, and Manila, as well as from cities across the nation. Round the World Night on February 11, 1932, was an even more impressive affair. Honoring Butler's seventieth birthday, his fiftieth graduation year, and his thirtieth anniversary as President, the central dinner, at the Waldorf-Astoria, was attended by 1,544 alumni and guests; eighty-one radio stations were scheduled to carry the evening's addresses by Butler, Erskine, and Benjamin Cardozo, '89. Congratulatory messages from alumni and from others distinguished for their accomplishments in many parts of the world poured into two special receiving stations and were flashed on two screens in the hall throughout the dinner.

From 1933 to 1941, broadcasts were made from the Alumni Day luncheon (and occasionally from the Commencement Luncheon). In 1942, after American entry into World War II, the Alumni Day luncheon speeches were transcribed for later broadcast, and after that the broadcasts were dropped altogether. In place of the old day-long program, the wartime Alumni Day consisted only of a small luncheon. Although expanded after the war, Alumni Day in its traditional form came to an

end with the gathering on February 12, 1948. But the basic purpose of the custom, that of enabling alumni to renew acquaintance with the personalities, intellectual life, and scenes of the campus, has been continued in more effective ways through Deans' Days and Alumni Days sponsored by the individual schools. In Columbia College, the first Deans' Day was held in May, 1947.

Throughout the period from the move to Morningside until World War I, the College alumni continued the two main annual functions inherited from the 49th Street days: the annual meeting in the fall for elections and other business and the midwinter reunion. Although the introduction of Alumni Day in 1908 and of the December Holiday Luncheon two years later forced the advance of the "midwinter" reunion into April or May, the Association stoutly refused to bring the time-honored name into line with the season until 1919.

After having seen the College equipped with a new campus of its own and having won its long battle for Trustee representation, the Association turned its attention to a wide variety of College problems. It also made a lasting contribution to the symbols of Columbia heraldry. At the midwinter reunion of April 4, 1910, George B. Compton was the recipient of the Alumni Prize (established by the Association in 1858 and awarded annually since that year). In a spirited acceptance speech, he deplored the lack of a Columbia mascot and proposed that the College forthwith adopt the lion. The applause which greeted his remarks turned into rousing acclaim as James Duane Livingston, '81, president of the Early Eighties, marched into the room, preceded by the Early Eighties Five-and-Drum Corps and carrying a large light-blue banner emblazoned with a lion rampant.¹⁹ The king of beasts carried all before him. A few weeks later the Student Board of the College accepted the new symbol after carefully weighing the merits of the lion against those of the Harlem goat and the American eagle.

In December, 1910, the Association established a "committee on students" with Rudolph L. Von Bernuth, '04, as chairman. The function of this body, which is continued today by the committee on secondary schools, was to enable more students of the type "particularly sought for by other colleges" to enter Columbia. Soon known as the "schoolboy" committee, it initiated several projects, notably the creation of student

¹⁹ Besides Compton and Livingston, Association President William C. Demorest, '81, and possibly several other alumni were party to the plans for the sortie, but the proposal of the lion as the Columbia mascot was solely and indisputably Compton's. The banner now hangs in Alumni House.

recruiting committees in various local clubs. Its work was rewarded by President Butler's proposal at the 1912 annual meeting to establish a College scholarship in each of the forty-eight states. This was an early manifestation of the idea behind the College's present National Scholarships, although that name was not used until much later. A number of such grants, then called Alumni Scholarships, were set up soon afterward by the University.

The 1910 Standing Committee reported that plans for a "Student's Club House . . . could not be developed to the fullest extent desirable" but that the Class of 1881 had agreed to equip "handsomely" the Hamilton Hall basement lounge known as the Gemot. The report remarked with satisfaction that the College's growth was "commensurate" with the growth of the University, since "there are more men in the Freshman class [254] . . . today than there were in the entire College thirty years ago."

Dormitories reappeared as an alumni problem at the annual meeting of 1913. Acquiring the dormitories, the Standing Committee found, had not assured the Association's goal of a largely resident student body. The fact was that only 89 of a total of 698 students living in Hartley, Livingston, and Fernald Halls were undergraduates—a somewhat ironic sequel to the militant campaigning for College dormitories at the turn of the century. A committee on undergraduate residence was appointed in November, 1913. Through a student questionnaire it determined that the expense of dormitory living was one, if not the major, factor in holding residence down, since it was cheaper to live at home or in off-campus rooms. In its 1914 report the committee avoided an endorsement of either of the two obvious alternatives of lowered dormitory fees or compulsory residence and the problem remained one for a later generation to attempt to solve.

Athletics, even in the non-football era, continued to be a prominent concern of the Alumni Association. Crew had been a long-time favorite and funds had been raised periodically to keep the shells afloat. On June 26, 1914, the Varsity carried off the honors at the Poughkeepsie Regatta, a triumph which was feted the following fall at a spirited dinner in the Gymnasium for Jim Rice and his oarsmen. The annual meeting in October, 1915, at which Frederick Coykendall was elected Association president, developed into a celebration of the return of intercollegiate football, banned in 1905.

It was undoubtedly more than a coincidence that during the previous year the Standing Committee had twice met informally with the Com-

mittee on Instruction of the College Faculty. This was the beginning of a practice that continues today.

At the next annual meeting, the Standing Committee questioned the advisability of letting the growth of the College student body, upon which it had remarked so happily only four years before, continue indefinitely. A few years later it declared in favor of limiting College enrollment and began worrying about University Extension (the present School of General Studies) as a competing undergraduate division.

Over the years from 1914 to 1918, World War I loomed larger and larger in College Association affairs, until at the very end it precluded interest in almost everything else. The intensity of the group's war spirit was evidenced by a passage in the Standing Committee report for 1916-17 that is unequalled in vehemence in the 128-year annals of the Association. Written in the fall of 1917, after American entry in the war, the passage began by approving the Trustees' widely publicized dismissal of two pacifist Faculty members—J. McKeen Cattell and Henry W. L. Dana. The report went on to state that the Committee "stands firmly behind" the Trustees in any action "no matter how extreme" taken "to protect the good name, historic patriotism, and scholarship of Columbia from the inevitable damage that may follow from foolish, prejudiced, irresponsible, unconsidered, emotional, ill-digested, or immature utterances or writings, not to mention those that openly breathe treason, sedition, or resistance to duly constituted authority."

"So-called" free speech, it continued, should never be allowed to "degenerate into unbridled license, whatever specious arguments of academic freedom and other well-worn shibboleths be interposed."²⁰ At the urging of Professor John Erskine, the report was altered before a formal vote of acceptance. In his restatement it was argued that the incidents had not endangered free speech or academic freedom but merely involved etiquette—"common sense, good taste, and thoughtfulness for the University's reputation."²¹

Although trivial in itself, the change in name of the May, 1918, meeting (a "Welcome Home" to servicemen) from "midwinter" to "spring" reunion signified an important change in the Association's character. The guiding spirit and interests of the older alumni lapsed and were replaced by those of the younger alumni who had gone off to war—the generation of the twenties.

But as a final legacy, one group of those older alumni completed plans

²⁰ *Columbia Alumni News*, IX, No. 4 (October 19, 1917), 72.

²¹ *Ibid.*, IX, No. 6 (November 2, 1917), 127.

for an enterprise that has been ever since, in one form or another, a major feature of Columbia alumni life. It was a revival, this time with success, of the short-lived University Alumni Commemoration Fund idea that had been launched by the College Association during the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebration of 1904. Willard V. King, '89, who had suggested the idea and had been committee chairman of the 1904 fund, was named chairman of the 1919 Alumni Fund Campaign committee by Federation President Coykendall (soon to be an Alumni Trustee). The committee felt that an annual gift appeal might now succeed because large-scale war charity and Liberty Bond drives had developed the habit of giving among the general public. As a precaution, the post-war drive was announced as a single campaign to cover the University's war deficit, estimated by President Butler as at least \$215,000. However, a professional fund-raiser was hired to plan, in addition to the initial drive, its possible repetition on an annual basis. Through personal solicitation by a system of teams of Columbia's 40,000 living alumni (including those of Barnard and Teachers College—about half the total), the campaign closed October 31 with gross contributions of \$239,815.47. Eight hundred and sixty College alumni—some 17 percent of the 5,000 then on record—had given \$101,226—42.2 percent of the total amount. The Federation established the Alumni Fund as one of its regular activities, conducting a drive with varying success each year through 1946.

During the twenties the College alumni showed most interest in sports and social affairs and, to a lesser extent, in student recruiting. The old staunchness with which the Association had campaigned for the College's physical plant through the early Morningside days had gone. College alumni of the twenties believed with almost everyone else that the nation's booming prosperity would continue forever and that Butler and the College administration unaided could easily cope with the College's physical needs. Indeed, at the 1922 Commencement Luncheon, six months after he had singlehandedly obtained the \$650,000 to purchase Baker Field for the College, Butler told the alumni that Columbia had received \$22,000,000 of the \$30,000,000 he had estimated as the University's capital needs only six years before. To the \$22,000,000, almost \$13,000,000 more was added in the next academic year.²²

Thus awed by Butler and dazzled by the era, the College alumni felt

²² New York *Evening Post*, November 27, 1923, which also observed that Columbia's endowment of \$92,240,000 "has no parallel" and gave Harvard's "productive" endowment as "\$53,000,000 and Yale's as \$32,660,000. Quoted in *Columbia Alumni News*, XV, No. 11 (December 14, 1923), 164.

confident that the College's physical welfare would be secure and turned their attention to other matters. One measure of their confidence was their wholehearted work on the Alumni Fund, which appealed for unrestricted gifts for the general purposes of the University. Their trust was also reflected in their reactions to the two major properties added primarily for the College through the decade. After reading Butler's announcement of the gift of Baker Field in the newspapers of New Year's Day, 1922, College Association President T. Ludlow Chrystie, '92, wired the President that it "marks another step in your well conceived plan that Columbia shall ever remain the alma mater of red-blooded young men in sane minds in sound bodies guided by the right spirit."²³ Butler's "very strong" recommendation²⁴ in the early twenties for a magnificently complete College "Students' Hall" on 114th Street met with applause rather than action on the part of the alumni. The Standing Committee report of 1926 said that the Association felt "keenest gratification" in the building's "rapidly approaching" completion and that while "by no means" claiming complete credit for its construction, the Association "does assume credit for having consistently urged upon the Trustees . . . the importance of speed" in its erection. The building was named John Jay Hall in January, 1927, and was officially opened Alumni Day that year.

Sports in general and football in particular seemed most to interest the bulk of the College alumni over the decade. *Spectator* declared in 1926: "If, as a mass, they would only show some interest in something besides football!" (This in an editorial betraying great interest in the sport on its own part.) Rebuttals were quick to come from College Association and Federation presidents, but, judging from events themselves, *Spectator* was probably more right than wrong. This was the era of the raccoon coat and the illicit Prohibition hip flask; of post-victory student and alumni snake dances on the field, the tearing down of goal posts, and subsequent South Field bonfires lasting until well after midnight. For the 1927 Penn game, a special ten-car train was run to Philadelphia. Crowds of from thirty to forty thousand regularly turned out for big Columbia games; to accommodate them, the Polo Grounds stadium was rented until the Baker Field stands were enlarged in 1928.

January, 1920, saw the founding of the Varsity "C" Club. Suggested around 1915 by Harry A. Fisher, '04, former graduate manager of athletics, an organization of athletic lettermen had held one meeting before

²³ *Columbia Alumni News*, XIII, No. 12 (January 6, 1922), 181.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, No. 33 (July, 1922), 489.

war intervened. Student "C" holders revived the idea in the fall of 1919 and alumni lettermen were quick to respond. By the time of its founding, the Club was predominantly an alumni group with sections on each sport. The aim of the "C" Club was—and is—to keep former athletes interested in advising and supporting Columbia athletics without interfering in their management. However, under unique circumstances in the fall of 1923, sixty members of the Club's crew section unanimously recommended the dismissal of the coach who had taught the sport to most of them. The recommendation was adopted and carried out by the University Committee on Athletics.²⁵

"What's wrong with athletics at Columbia?" was declared the "most vital" question facing the College Association by Chester W. Cuthell, '05, when elected its president in November, 1922. Football coaches followed one another in relatively rapid succession through most of the decade, and the choice of a new one—a matter agitating Cuthell in the fall of 1922—kept the alumni body simmering in speculation if not in action. One young alumnus who would certainly have agreed with Cuthell on the vital importance of Columbia sports victories was David S. Galton, '21. In 1921 Galton had bet a Cornell man that the backer of the losing team of the Columbia-Cornell football game that year would return to college and stay there until his team won.²⁶ In June of 1922, Galton was awarded the A.M. and the Business B.S. degrees. In June of 1923 he received the Business M.S. Then, apparently anticipating a long haul, he enrolled in the School of Law. He was not released from his wager until after he had gotten the LL.B. in 1926, Columbia at last beating Cornell that fall.

Although long a landmark on campus, Galton was not the inspiration of the perpetual student legends current in the twenties. That distinction belongs to William Cullen Bryant Kemp, '72, who died in early 1929. Kemp withdrew after his freshman year, at one time offering as his reason family pressure to enter the family business. He returned to take a law degree in 1896, his A.B. in 1900, the A.M. and LL.M. in 1901, and the B.S. in 1911; in all, he was enrolled some twenty years between 1868 and 1923. Although various stories sprang up to explain the old bachelor's behavior, in all probability he continued studying simply because he enjoyed and could afford it.

Late in the decade, the crew became a source of considerable alumni excitement. A reported 100,000 spectators saw Columbia's varsity shell

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XV, No. 9 (November 23, 1923), 129, 137.

²⁶ From *Alumni News* morgue files.

win the Poughkeepsie Regatta in 1927; the winners were given a victory dinner by the College Association the next fall. The 1929 crew season was enough to drive susceptible alumni into delirium; in race after race, all of Columbia's eight-oared shells swept the course, finishing the season before the Poughkeepsie Regatta undefeated. Such an achievement had never before been accomplished, certainly not at Columbia, and probably not anywhere else. Over 1,000 alumni and guests watched the Poughkeepsie Regatta that year from the S.S. *Peter Stuyvesant*, chartered at the last minute by the Federation to accommodate the overflow from regular facilities. When the Columbia varsity heavies won that "weirdest, strangest race on the roughest Poughkeepsie water in 34 years," the *Alumni News* issued a four-page "Poughkeepsie Special"—its only extra edition in forty-four years of publication.

But the College alumni during the twenties were something more than impassioned sports fans. In their Association they worked on various College activities and problems. Reports of a special Association committee called for expanded services by the student loan bureau and the University employment bureau, recommending that the latter serve to a greater extent as an alumni employment agency. Its subsequent expansion as the "appointments office" was aided by an Association grant voted at the 1923 annual meeting. Nicholas McD. McKnight, '21, now College Dean of Students, first joined the Columbia staff when named head of the office in February, 1924. In 1925-26 the Association supplied "idea and impetus" for the Columbia University Club scholarships, of which about ten were then being given.

Starting in 1921, the Association's "schoolboy" committee helped arrange the schoolboy track meets of the next few years. Following several years' offering of an annual debate contest and an essay contest for pupils in New York secondary schools outside the city, the committee planned a conference and competition of schoolboy editors from New Jersey in the spring of 1924 and persuaded the King's Crown Activities office to run the event. The resulting Columbia Scholastic Press Association held its first annual convention in March, 1925. Continuing as a self-supporting University activity under the direction of Joseph M. Murphy, the CSPA attracted 1,000 editors to its third convention; to recent ones, over 3,000 have come from across the nation.

Probably the Association worked hardest on the matter of student recruiting. In 1924-25 a "school activity" committee was established to attract to the College its "proper proportion" of preparatory school boys. This committee succeeded in having former varsity quarterback Willet L.

Eccles, '22, named as an assistant to the College Dean, primarily to make trips to secondary schools and interest students in Columbia. His expenses in doing so were initially underwritten by Association President Cuthell, who solicited individual gifts to cover them. All the principal members of the Dean's office staff now regularly engage in this kind of missionary work.

One ambitious project begun by the 1927-28 Standing Committee was to organize at the Dean's request a series of alumni committees to advise him on curriculum changes. Not functioning successfully for this purpose, the committees were constituted student vocational advice and information bodies, as they were organized along professional and occupational lines. However, it was not until the thirties that they proved successful for this purpose. Meanwhile, it had become traditional for the Standing Committee to dine once a year with the Dean and the College Committee on Instruction, whose members gave an informal account to the group of important or new curricular events on Morningside.

The alumni spring reunion in May, 1922, was moved from downtown to Van Am Quad for a pleasant evening outdoors in which the undergraduates joined. Japanese lanterns and floodlights illuminated the scene, while the program offered the student interclass song contest, the Van Am Society initiation, the Glee Club, the Columbia Band, the ubiquitous Early Eighties Fife-and-Drum Corps, brief talks, and a late buffet supper. Admission was free and a thousand men were said to have turned out for this and each of the three succeeding spring reunions held on the Quad. The custom, as well as the spring reunion itself, lapsed after 1925.

On December 4, 1924, the Association held its Alexander Hamilton Dinner, honoring Hamilton on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into King's College. On the program were speeches by Andrew Mellon, President Butler, and the humorist Will Rogers. In his dinner talk, Rogers drew a wry parody of Columbia and its fabulous head. His sketch also exhibits a keen sense of the outsider's view of the University at the time:

If you are speaking of finances here tonight, I do not believe that you could look further than President Butler. Butler is the word—to dig up the dough. Columbia was nothing twenty years ago. Now, he has gone around and got over a hundred buildings, and has annexed Grant's Tomb. . . . He landed these buildings and ran the place up to ninety millions or something like that. There are more students in the university than there are in any other in the world. It is the foremost university. There are thirty-two hundred courses. You spend your first two years in deciding what course to take, the next two

years in finding the building that these courses are given in, and the rest of your life in wishing you had taken another course. And they have this wonderful society called the alumni association, a bunch of men who have gone to school and after they have come out formed a society to tell the school how to run it.²⁷

Early in the fall of 1925 the Association began planning a dinner to mark its centennial. The dinner was held April 10, 1926, at the Hotel Plaza. Some 500 guests attended, hearing speeches by Governor Al Smith and President Butler. Both spoke in honor of the man from whom the dinner took its name: De Witt Clinton, 1786C. Clinton was also portrayed as the hero of a "playlet" presented that evening and written by Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, '11. Called *It Might Have Happened 100 Years Ago*, the one-act drama depicted an imaginary meeting between Clinton and other influential early alumni who there resolved to found the Association.

Three years before, the Federation had marked its tenth anniversary with a dinner. Over the ten years, Federation membership had climbed from 3,100 to 4,920; the number of living located alumni had doubled, from some 10,000 in 1913 to 21,000 in 1923. College memberships had climbed from 1,160 to 1,900. The decade of the twenties saw almost as many changes in the post of Federation executive secretary as in that of head football coach, though the former changes occurred under happier circumstances. Levering Tyson, A.M. '11, had succeeded Compton in 1914 and carried the Federation through the war years, resigning in 1920. He was followed by Charles G. Proffitt, '17, now Director of Columbia University Press and for many years a College Association officer, who served in the office until January, 1924. Succeeding him was William T. Taylor, '21, '23L, who stayed only through the spring term. After remaining vacant for almost a year and then being filled by Archie M. Palmer, a Cornell graduate, the post went to Clarence E. "Ike" Lovejoy, '17, in August, 1927. Lovejoy, who has served longer than any other incumbent, held the position through World War II. All served also as *Alumni News* editor.

More than anything else, the passing of the Costume Parade and its attendant festivities seems to mark the end of the twenties in College alumni life. But the momentum of the exuberant decade carried over into one final event—the alumni dinner on October 30, 1929, in celebration of Columbia's one hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary. It was held at the Hotel Pennsylvania and was attended by 1,274 persons. Although the great

²⁷ *Columbia Alumni News*, XVI, No. 12 (December 19, 1924), 148.

stock market crash had taken place only the day before, few apparently realized that night what it portended; no sign of concern over the event appeared in any of the dinner speeches. However, President Butler did announce that one of the evening's main speakers, Franklin D. Roosevelt, could not attend because he was involved in "budget hearings." It seems likely that the New York Governor was busy coping with repercussions of the crash.

Over the following years the depression slowly but inexorably settled down on American life, appearing most sharply reflected on the Columbia alumni scene in the fall and winter of 1932. Its effect in its first year was to draw the alumni body closer together and to the University. The Alumni Fund drive over the spring and early summer of 1930 raised the largest total from the largest number of donors since its establishment ten years before: \$197,000 from 6,686 persons. Unusually thorough work by the Fund's class representatives was given principal credit for the showing. Such work, however, could not offset the deepening depression; the 1933 Alumni Fund receipts totaled only some \$65,000.

From 1930 to 1931 Federation membership dropped 3 percent; from 1932 to 1933, almost 12 percent. In March of 1933 the *Alumni News* changed from weekly to biweekly publication. In 1930 it ran a column of alumni job-seekers who, it said, were unemployed "like millions of their countrymen" through no fault of their own but because of a "badly maladjusted social order." Its lead article in the Christmas, 1932, issue was headed FEDERATION SEEKS JOBS FOR ALUMNI UNEMPLOYED and urged that Columbia men be given preference in any job openings.

McKnight's appointments office report in 1931 stated that 60 percent of the College students were working (many of them at "undesirable" jobs) and that all would be employed by 1941 at the current rate of increase. That fall of 1931, the College Association established a "student relief" committee with Douglas M. Black, '16, as chairman. The committee quickly planned a circular appealing for alumni contributions, but before it could be sent out, Dean Hawkes advised that the Trustees had supplied sufficient funds "to remove the immediate need." The committee temporarily suspended operations, but in 1932-33 it raised \$1,276 for the Dean's Fund, sending only one mailing in its appeal to avoid "extended publicity."

Sports interest in the thirties continued strong. In March, 1930, Lou Little, the new head football coach, met the College alumni at the Association spring reunion. Lawrence R. Condon, '21, who was to attain considerable prominence in alumni circles, was the meeting's committee

chairman. At the same meeting, Professor Harry J. Carman cleared College sports of any taint that might possibly have been imputed from a sensational Carnegie Corporation report. Just published, the report described and denounced shady practices on the intercollegiate sports scene. The following spring Columbia created the post of University Director of Athletics, not in response to the Carnegie report, but to prevent the financial collapse of Columbia's intercollegiate sports.²⁸ "Practically all" of the \$55,000 given the 1931 Alumni Fund for general University support was allocated by the Fund committee to athletics "because of the emergency."

Evidence of mingled football enthusiasm and depression privation appeared in the maintenance by the Federation of an "Electric Grid-Graph" for alumni families in the gym starting with the 1931 Cornell game. The Graph, a large, wired board representing the gridiron, diagramed the play as it was relayed by wire from Ithaca. A small admission fee was charged. Into the football enthusiasm of the rank-and-file alumnus burst that fall the widely-publicized accusations of Reed Harris, '32, *Spectator* editor whose campaign continued in the Carnegie report vein.

The troubled air of football and the depression cleared considerably, however, with Columbia's victory over Stanford in the Rose Bowl on New Year's Day, 1934. Columbia's unexpected victory set off celebrations across the country; alumni clubs feted the team all along the route of its triumphant return east. Upon its arrival in New York, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia and a police escort led the squad up Broadway to the gym, where it was hailed by an official reception committee of 200 that included representatives of myriad alumni organizations and a crowd of 4,000. Two weeks later some 1,200 alumni gathered in the gym for a College Association victory dinner. Almost all following alumni functions of the year seemed to benefit from the enthusiasm generated by the Rose Bowl victory; the 1934 Alumni Fund raised more than double the 1933 total.

Early in the thirties the Federation formed a committee on adult education that offered a program of special evening courses conducted by Columbia professors at the Columbia University Club. Running through the decade, these courses were dropped from Federation sponsorship not long after their merger with the program of Columbia's Institute of Arts and Sciences in the early forties.

The Federation had moved from Alumni House to Low Library in 1927. In 1935 the Federation offices were moved back to Alumni House,

²⁸ See pp. 218-222.

which was then officially given that name. At that time the Federation ran the alumni records and alumni fund office, published the *Alumni News*, and served as the central office of over seventy local clubs and eight school associations.²⁹ After the 1938 Alumni Fund collections had been totaled it was found that in the nineteen Fund drives, not including the war deficit campaign in 1919, over two million dollars had been raised—\$2,170,618. Uniform Federation dues of \$3 a year, which included an *Alumni News* subscription to all members, were adopted in 1939. That fall, the Federation launched a campaign that raised its membership from 6,900 to a record 7,750 by January, 1940. Through its phase of the drive, College Association membership rose from 1,750, around which it had stayed through the twenties and thirties, to 2,000.

Through the depression years the College alumni took renewed interest in Association and College affairs. In 1931-32—not just by accident the Reed Harris year—the Standing Committee increased its regular meetings from quarterly to monthly and enlarged its subcommittees to substantially their present number and scope. In 1935-36 the Association began holding annual downtown fall luncheons attended by over 300 persons; in 1936-37 it revived the spring reunion with a Columbia Club dinner. The Association was also largely responsible for instituting a dinner of alumni fathers and their sons the night of Alumni Day. In 1938 the Association undertook publication about twice a year of a one-page newsletter in the *Alumni News*. For 1939 and several succeeding years, it gave a sportive Commencement gathering at Baker Field that was an attempt to revive the spirit but not the costumes of the old Costume Parade days. A College Association membership drive in 1940 made it the largest Federation constituent for the first time in several years, overtaking the Law association.

While activities like these were in progress, there was growing among the College alumni a feeling about the College's place in the University that was to have far greater repercussions. A full formulation of this feeling burst upon Columbia and its alumni in 1941 in the dramatic report of the Class of 1921, to be discussed below.

In 1930-31 the College Association was giving the question broad consideration. The Standing Committee of that year reported that its main topic of discussion had been "the position of Columbia College within the University that has been built up around it. . . . Apprehension has

²⁹ College, Engineering, P&S, Law, Graduate Schools, Architecture, Dental, and Journalism. The Business Association had been founded in the early 1920's and joined the Federation before World War II.

been expressed that in an expansion in size and scope so profound and so rapid the College was in danger of being submerged to the status of a mere department in the huge whole."

Although the 1921 committee report later concluded that subordination was not only threatened but accomplished, the College Association carried on in the spirit of the 1931 Standing Committee report: "It should be added immediately that the concern was with tendencies and not with any accomplished facts."

The Association appointed a committee on the state of the College to deal with the general problem and a committee on student living conditions to deal with a part of it. In the 1932 annual report, the former was said to have found the College's position in the University "wholly satisfactory." The latter committee had discovered "numerous" conditions in the dormitories that it felt should be changed, some resulting from curtailed expense in the building of John Jay Hall which would prove costly to correct. Restricting its recommendations to "practical" matters that could be remedied with available funds, the committee succeeded in having various minor improvements made and in inaugurating the present system of dormitory counselors.³⁰ The committee also helped bring about lowered dormitory fees and dining hall charges.

While serving as Association president in 1937, Condict W. Cutler, '10, M.D. '12, a former chairman of the committee on living conditions, led the attack on another facet of the situation that had fed the "submergence" feeling: Columbia's antiquated and overcrowded gymnasium. While Cutler was president, Stephen Grant Stone, '15, argued successfully for action on the gym problem. A committee was appointed with Stone as chairman. After conducting a series of conferences, the committee prepared alternate plans for a new gym that were submitted to the Trustees. The committee then went to work devising plans to finance the project. Cutler was elected an Alumni Trustee in the fall of 1939; early in 1941 blueprints of a new gymnasium project that would cost about four million dollars appeared in the *Alumni News*. The drawings called for a main gymnasium in an annex directly north of University Hall and the completion of the Hall itself, mainly to give additional sports facilities. Also announced was a Federation committee on ways and means of financing the proposal with Felix Wormser, '16E, as chairman and Cutler and Stone as principal assistants. The *News* shortly reported that an anonymous former Alumni Trustee had offered to pledge \$1,000 a year

³⁰ Young instructors or graduate students, one to every two or three College student floors, who befriend and advise their undergraduate charges.

for the next three years if 999 others would also, thus furnishing \$3,000,000 toward the cost of the enterprise.

In June, 1941, the Class of 1921 issued its unique report. Presented as a twentieth-anniversary gift, the '21, or Condon, report (after Lawrence Condon, chairman of the committee that prepared it) was an 80-page booklet called *Survey of the Relationship of Columbia College to Columbia University*. Its first four chapters were historical, dealing principally with the development of Columbia's corporate charter and finances. In them, it was observed that Columbia's Upper and Lower Estates (the latter is the site of the original King's College building) had been given to the institution when it was either exclusively or predominantly a college. Growing enormously valuable with the city's expansion, these properties, the argument continued, had to a significant extent financed the development of the University after the move to Morningside Heights, while the College's needs had been neglected.

The next two chapters were on the financial and academic relationships. The first concluded: "Funds and assets originally intended for the purposes of Columbia College have been employed . . . [to build] a huge, many-sided University. . . . Columbia College . . . has today no financial independence whatsoever. . . . It seems fair to state that its best interests have not been served but have been in fact subordinated." The following chapter found the academic relationship "difficult to define," noted and condemned the occasional tendency to regard the College chiefly as a "feeder" unit for the University's advanced work, but concluded that "*academically* [its italics] the College is admirably fulfilling the needs of the undergraduates as well as the expectations of the Alumni." Chapter VII chronicled long-recognized inadequacies of the College's physical plant and Chapter VIII gave conclusions and recommendations. The report as a whole is well summed up in two paragraphs of the latter:

The College has inadequate equipment in the way of academic quarters, gymnasium facilities, outdoor recreational and playing fields, and open campus space. Whenever any part of the University has had to forego the fulfillment of any of its needs in order to allow for general University growth, the College has usually been called upon to make the sacrifice.

This subordination and cramping of the College has been allowed to take place in spite of the fact that the original endowment of the College has increased tremendously in value—the increase having been used to a substantial degree as a basis for expansion in the professional and graduate fields. In other words, the College has financed, to a marked degree, the growth of the

University, but is itself lacking in the material equipment so necessary to the comfort of its students and teachers if undergraduate life is to mean all that it should. In light of such facts, does not the College deserve more equitable treatment at the hands of the University?

Before accepting the report's claim that the College had largely financed the University's growth, it should be remembered that the report was a partisan document presenting only one side of a many-sided question. However, the charge came to be important not in itself but because it served as the dramatic vehicle of a positive program. Six of the report's eight recommendations have been adopted to some extent.³¹ This is a tribute to the insight of its authors in framing their recommendations. Directly from the '21 report stemmed the College Development Program.

The report came "as something of a bombshell," the *Alumni News* said, and headlined a major article on it: "STOP SUBMERGING THE COLLEGE," CLASS OF 1921 TELLS TRUSTEES. Condon reported in the fall of 1941 that many of the Trustees had expressed "keen interest" in the report and that College alumni who had been interviewed "uniformly welcomed" it as presenting "forcefully" yet "in a dignified way" a problem "which has caused much concern among Columbia men for many years."

From President Butler, the very heart and symbol of those policies it had attacked, the report drew an answer in his annual report of 1941:

³¹ The eight recommendations and the action taken or not taken can be summarized as follows:

1. "More consideration should be given to Columbia College and the plans for its future by the Trustees." Yes, by direct action of the Trustees and establishment of the College Development Program.

2. "Ways and means should be devised to make Columbia College more separate and distinct from the University." (Barnard and Teachers College, with independent boards of trustees, were suggested as models.) Yes, to the extent that the Columbia College Council exercises some functions of a board, though it has only advisory powers.

3. "There should be established a separate Columbia College budget." No.

4. "There should be established a separate Columbia College fund 'earmarked' for the College alone." Yes, so far as alumni gifts are concerned, in Columbia College Fund.

5. "There should be acquired immediately" near Morningside "ample play space [for recreational sports] for undergraduates." No.

6. "There should be constructed a new gymnasium." Yes; a new gym is a long-range College Development Program objective.

7. "No further University expansion until recommendations 5 and 6 have been satisfied." More yes than no; no large portion of the University's general resources has since been used for expansion; expansion since 1941 has been largely accomplished through special gifts applicable only for the purpose given.

8. "There should be appointed a Committee on Columbia College" composed of representatives of the Trustees, faculty, and alumni "to consider the special interests of the College and to plan for its development." Yes; see p. 264 and footnote 33.

Since and because of the organization of Columbia University, Columbia College has advanced by leaps and bounds. . . . The problems which have faced the American college in general during the past generation have . . . been most satisfactorily advanced toward solution under the far-sighted leadership of Dean Hawkes and the admirable Faculty associated with him. The contacts between the College and the University have been of greatest advantage to the College. The relatively insignificant college of fifty years ago, with an enrollment of some 250 students drawn chiefly from the Island of Manhattan, is now a powerful school of the liberal arts and sciences, with an enrollment of nearly two thousand students drawn from every state in the Union and from a score of other countries as well. . . . It is the power of Columbia University which has brought into being the Columbia College of today.

Butler's observation that the rise of the College corresponded with the rise of the University was perfectly true, but it should also be noted that his statement, just like the '21 report, selected from the whole situation only those aspects that best supported his case.

While appropriate action was being considered by the Trustees, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and war was declared the next day. Again the older men kept Columbia's organized alumni life going while the younger ones went into military service. With Lovejoy on leave of absence, the Federation's office staff of women conducted its affairs, a Barnard graduate editing the *Alumni News*. The magazine dropped from biweekly to monthly publication in 1943, and remains today a monthly through the academic year. To its regular annual meetings—Holiday Luncheon, Alumni Day, and Commencement Luncheon, which were continued through the war somewhat like a banked fire—the Federation added a general fall reunion at Baker Field. Held in conjunction with a football game, this was expanded in 1948 into the Fall Homecoming Reunion. By the 1950's, Homecoming regularly attracted some two to three thousand alumni with their families and guests, thus succeeding the discontinued Alumni Day as Columbia's largest annual alumni function. Also during the war, the College and Engineering alumni moved their Class Day reunion at Baker Field back into May and ran it as the "spring reunion" until it was allowed to lapse several years after the war.

Most alumni heard at least once from the University during the war, the Alumni Fund sending to over 60,000 a war service questionnaire and the College Dean's office sending to all College alumni in service a newsletter, "Memorandum from Morningside." This was financed in part by the College Association. When Dean Hawkes, who had come to office

in the midst of another war, died in May, 1943, the Association founded a Hawkes memorial scholarship fund that amounted to over \$20,000 within a year.

Peace found Nicholas Murray Butler Columbia's first President Emeritus and Frank Fackenthal, the active chairman of the "schoolboy" committee of the early twenties, its Acting President. Apparently largely because of the war, an amazing thing had happened: Federation membership had increased to a record 9,068, while College Association membership stood at an unprecedented 3,120. A burst of postwar alumni activity pushed these figures up to over 15,000 and 5,000 respectively around 1950-51, from which they dropped to about 14,000 and 4,500 by 1953.

The postwar revival of alumni life saw its pace accelerate to a level seldom if ever before attained. For the College alumni, this seemed to reach a peak in the spring of 1947, when five major functions were held within a month: the first College Deans' Day on May 3; an Association party for seniors at Ruppert's Brewery, May 7; the spring reunion, May 17; the annual meeting, May 19; and Commencement, June 3. Introduced in this period were the Association's three major annual functions of the 1950's: Deans' Day, the Forum on Democracy, and the Alexander Hamilton Dinner.³² Founded in November, 1949, largely through College Association work and prompting, was the King's Crown Club, the counterpart for College activities of the Varsity "C" Club.

Morris W. Watkins, '24, a co-author of "Roar, Lion, Roar," became the Federation executive secretary in February of 1945, while Lovejoy was still on leave for military service. The latter was named assistant to the Federation president upon his return that fall, subsequently resigned, and now heads his own college counseling bureau in New York. Enlarged Federation membership made possible a return to the old system of a separate *Alumni News* editor, and Stephen D. Karl, '41, succeeded to the post in 1947. The Federation's first large-scale postwar project was the

³² Deans' Day brings the alumni back to the campus for an all-day program principally of faculty talks on topics of current interest. The annual Forums, introduced in 1949, are three-day programs for some 150 secondary school boys during which they live in the dormitories and receive an excellent sample of College student life interwoven with lectures and discussions on the Forum's theme. The Hamilton dinner is the occasion for the award of the Association's Hamilton Medal for "distinguished service" by a College alumnus or faculty member in "any field of human endeavor." The first annual award went to Butler in a quiet ceremony in 1947; but beginning in 1948, when Fackenthal was the recipient, the presentations have been made at a formal dinner on the order of the Association's centennial De Witt Clinton Dinner of 1926. Subsequent recipients have been V. K. Wellington Koo, '09; William J. Donovan, '05; Dean Harry J. Carman; Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, '04; and Arthur Hays Sulzberger, '13.

organization of a nation-wide "Columbia Alumni Placement Council" to aid returning alumni veterans. Three additional school associations joined the Federation after the war—General Studies, Optometry, and Pharmacy—raising its number of constituents to twelve.

Meanwhile, the Special Committee on Columbia College was established by the Trustees at their meeting of December, 1944. This committee was constituted exactly as called for by the '21 report, having as members Trustee, faculty, and alumni representatives.³³

Report number one of the Special Committee was submitted to the Trustees at their January, 1945, meeting and referred to appropriate Trustee committees for action. The report recommended the renovation of Hamilton Hall and attention to the following College needs:

1. Improvement of public relations
2. A new gymnasium
3. Playing fields near the dormitories
4. A new student center building
5. National Scholarships
6. Improvements at Baker Field, including a new field house
7. Enlargement of the Deans' Fund
8. Strengthening of athletic and extracurricular activities

These points, in all save their original order, represent the present goals of the College Development Program. Some have already been realized. Hamilton Hall was extensively renovated shortly after the war and the team facilities wing of the Baker Field field house has been built. Columbia's public relations program has been considerably expanded and in it the College is receiving an emphasis which was lacking through the twenties and thirties.

With the coming of Paul H. Davis as Columbia's "general secretary" in 1946, these goals were incorporated into the first full statement of the College Development Program, and the Program's initial committees were established to carry on the work of the Special Committee. Davis was responsible for having the Alumni Fund and the alumni records offices become the responsibility of the University rather than the Federation. He also had the local clubs largely severed from the Federation framework, establishing a University office as the Affiliated Columbia

³³ Its members were three Trustees—Albert Putnam, '97, chairman; Douglas Black, '16 (former College Association and Federation president, then Alumni Trustee, now life Trustee); John G. Jackson, '01; three faculty members—Dean Carman, Dean McKnight, '21, and Jacques Barzun, '27; and three alumni—Condon himself, George W. Jaques, '08, and Robert W. Watt, '16, the committee's secretary.

Alumni Clubs headquarters. However, the Affiliated Clubs president, George V. Cooper, '17, was appointed by the Federation president. During Davis's term as the founding head of Columbia's Office of the Development, now an official University activity, the College alumni conducted in 1949-50 a \$250,000 fund drive. Under the chairmanship of Aaron W. Berg, '24, the drive actually raised \$290,000. Half went to complete the team facilities wing of the field house and half to National Scholarships.

Development took a new turn in College alumni circles when Charles A. Anger, present executive director of the Office of Development, succeeded Davis that May. In that same year—1950—the Columbia College Council was established, principally at the Development Office's suggestion. A predominantly alumni body of some twenty-five members, the Council advises the Trustees on College matters, particularly those related to finances and expansion. One present Alumni Trustee has likened it to a separate board of trustees for the College. The Council's first act was to establish the Columbia College Fund. Enlisting almost a thousand alumni in the work of their annual campaigns, the Fund organizations raise money for the College's current use. The 1951 Fund drive, its first, saw twice as many College alumni—some 3,400—contributing as had ever given before in a single year. Their number has increased in each of the two succeeding years. College Fund proceeds have so far been largely devoted to scholarships, helping around 100 boys a year to get a Columbia College education.

Since the end of World War II and the vicissitudes of the cold war and of the Korean War, there have been many other changes and innovations on the Columbia scene important to the College alumni. Only a few of the most obvious ones are: Dwight D. Eisenhower's arrival as Columbia's President and departure as the nation's; Harry Carman's retirement and Larry Chamberlain's succession as Dean; the first alumni greeting of Grayson Kirk as President-elect at the 1953 Hamilton Dinner and as President at the 1953 Older Graduates dinner. What effect these events will have on the College alumni in Columbia's advance into its third century is, in its full details, for the future to tell.

But although the parade of the present blurs before the eye, we can still observe the broad direction of its march. Where are the College alumni heading today? In succeeding eras they have been decisively anti-University (before 1854), pro-University (1854-97), anti-University, pro-College (1898-1918, 1930's, 1940's), or just complacent (1920's). Today they seem to be very actively pro-College, pro-University.

At the time of the Bicentennial, when accolades to Columbia ring from around the world, it is well to recall the prophetic alumni declaration of the Centennial year. Delivered in the midst of a searching examination by the alumni of the College's progress over its first century, it heralded the rise of the University. Before 1854 Columbia had consisted of only Columbia College. The ascendance of the progressive alumni in the 1850's contributed greatly to the founding of Columbia's first professional schools soon after and, later, to the climate of opinion in which the nonprofessional graduate divisions were begun.

It was S. Weir Roosevelt, of the Class of 1842, who pronounced the progressive alumni judgment of the Centennial year. He found Columbia's neglect of new fields of knowledge, particularly in the physical sciences, to be "a strange spectacle in the year 1854" that spelled stagnation, not advance.

"I can believe such a fact of 1754," he declared, "but since then we have had the Revolution, the Constitution, the Steamboat, the Daily Press. And, since these, by the aid of this very physical science, we have had the electric telegraph." In almost the same Rooseveltian terms manifested in later times by two better known alumni, he summed up his cherished hope for Columbia: "I ask that it should have a place for new knowledge, and let it dispense that liberal learning and scientific knowledge which the people and the age require."³⁴

As in 1854, the College alumni remain within Columbia circles her most severe critics; but today especially they fight outside those circles as her most ardent champions. Viewed in the perspective of the last hundred years, it is this spirit that has meant the rise of the University and the concomitant rise of the College, their fortune, their standing, their fame, one and inseparable. In the College alumni, this spirit is born in the kinship of teachers and classmates, fired by the ideals of our civilization, and buttressed by respect for the power of knowledge. Critical devotion of this caliber and of this character is the key to the strength and integrity of all free institutions. Through their part in the work that has brought their College among the forefront of those in the United States, its sons have helped mightily to raise around it one of the most productive of free institutions—a great university. That they have done so should be their pride; that they continue faithful to the advance of the College which is the historical, financial, intellectual, and social core of the University is, as it should be, their mission.

³⁴ Quoted in the *New York Times*, April 24, 1854.

EPILOGUE

A LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE IN A METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

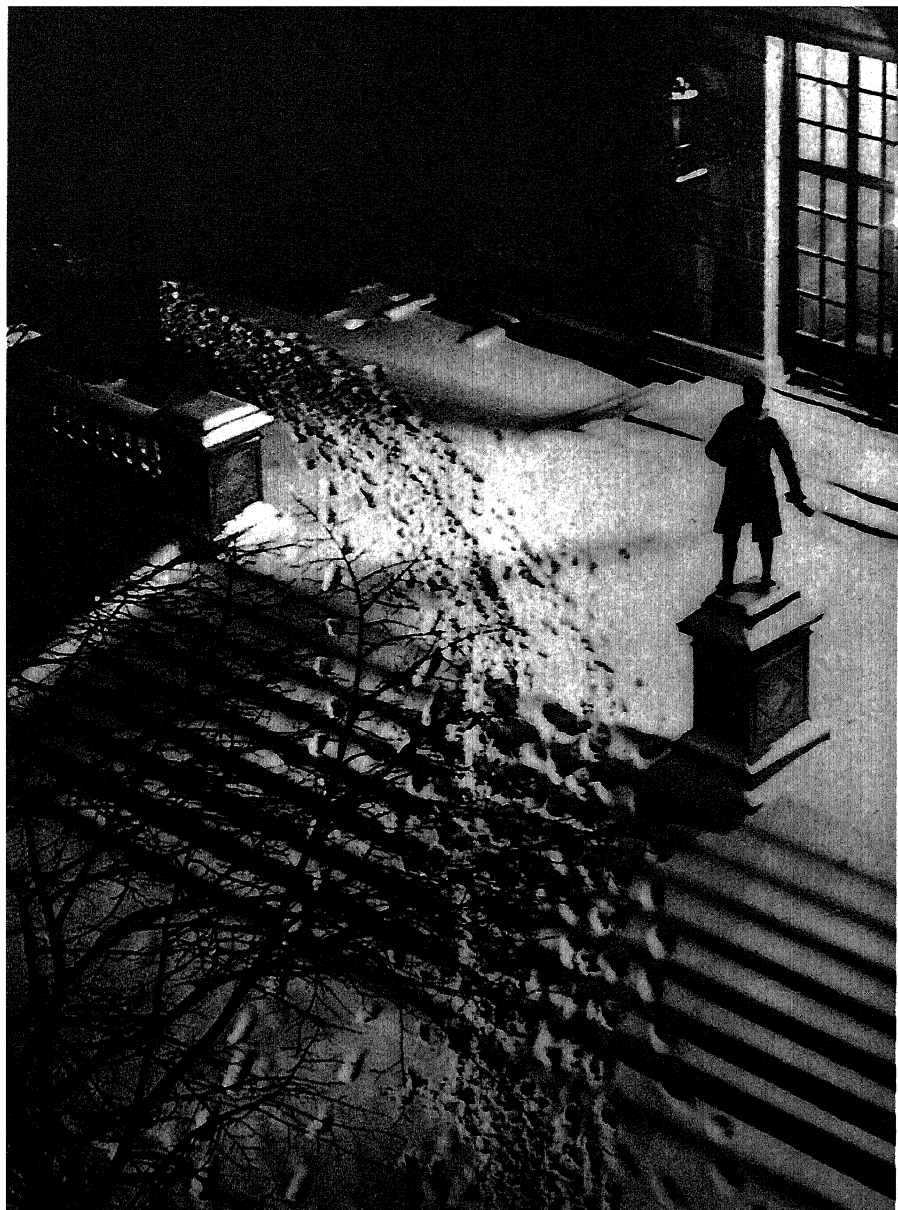
by Irwin Edman

THE IMAGE of *the* college has been fixed in the American imagination. It consists of ivied walls and cloistered students in a small town, ideally in New England, where the college chapel is as much a part of the scene as the spire of the village church. The American dream and stereotype pictures isolated and meditative young men, not without intervals of simple gaiety in their studious lives, pleasantly and monastically cut off for four years of companionship and study. There are, it is rightly believed, all sorts of advantages in the intimacy and seclusion of the small college in the small town, and the image has persisted while the state universities have developed student populations by the ten thousands and while vast universities have come to flourish in modern metropolitan cities. Columbia College in the nineteenth century, as George Templeton Strong's diary shows, was a small academy in a New York that still retained the character of a small community. And as surviving members of the college on 49th Street used to tell students of a generation ago, there was about Columbia much of the friendly charm of a country college.

The College is now part of a great university in a megalopolis. True, the campus is set in a relatively quiet corner of modern New York; it is also true that the College remains small. Yet when the University began

to flourish and expand on Morningside Heights, the place and function of the College seemed to change, as they changed for all colleges which were part of institutions with large graduate schools. The city changed, too, and a boy attending Columbia College in the New York of the twenties was attending an institution different, though not unrecognizably so, from the place in which his predecessors had studied. The fact of the city and the fact of the presence of distinguished graduate faculties had subtle effects on the character of the liberal arts college at Columbia, just as changing customs and economic conditions affected the place and relative influence of the humanities in our civilization. In some ways it may indeed be said that Columbia College by its very situation, within both the city and the University, was more strategically placed to express and to solve the problem of humanistic education in our civilization than a campus conforming more exactly to the traditional nineteenth-century image.

In one important respect, however, the College itself has not changed. It is by design not much larger than it was a generation ago. As compared with many university colleges—those of Harvard, Yale, or Princeton—it is small. It is limited to approximately two thousand students. Without any elaborate apparatus of a tutorial system, it still for the most part does its teaching in small classes, and a very high degree of personal give-and-take obtains between teacher and student. But there are certain things that peculiarly determine the character and quality of the College at Columbia. A student cannot live in New York, a world capital, without being aware of it. He cannot live unaffected by four years of study in a college where he is inevitably aware of the presence of advanced students specializing in fields of which he is just beginning to learn the rudiments; where his young instructors are promising young men in a field in which some day they will be famous; and where some of his teachers, excellent as teachers, already have a national reputation as scholars and publicists. The young man studying in New York City is subjected in Columbia College to the discipline and exposed to the excitement of the same books, the same classics, the same potent ideas that are the heritage of all civilized mankind. But he cannot help seeing Homer and Milton, Dante and Leonardo, Michelangelo and Rembrandt, Watteau and Hogarth, Beethoven and Mozart, in a rather different light than he would see them in another place, say one in which the contemporary arts and contemporary issues are not as urgent as they are in New York. A student of the Greek drama has before his eyes what is happening to the theater of our own day. No one can read Thucydides without the kind of reflections on war and peace induced by being next-door neighbor to the UN. The meaning of



DEPARTURE

Norman Eliasson

meditation, the relation of theory to practice, of contemplation to action, cannot but be considered in freer perspectives in a college which is part of a university enmeshed, through the activities of many of its professors and students, with the active life of the city.

Nor can a student treat the humanities simply as a smugly appreciative study when he is in the atmosphere of a university which is ever alive to the changing place and part of the unchanging values of a humanistic education. Columbia College may be in the city of New York, but we need neither ancient poets nor modern psychologists to remind us that human nature remains essentially the same in city or country. Technical resources have changed the conditions of life and of the audience for the arts as well as, in some respects, the themes of the arts. The threat of universal war, the menace of the extinction of civilization itself, these are new, though perhaps not altogether new. But the meanings of life, which from the beginning were shadowed by death, these themes are perennial. The vocabulary, the illustrations, the emphases shift; that is all. The pressure of events, the rapidity of change, the transformation of the physical environment—all have tended to obscure the values by which civilization is measured. The quality of a society and the degree of its success are still estimated by what life in that society says to and for and of the human spirit. It is still the function of a liberal education, insofar as that is achievable during college years, to initiate the young into the scope, the intensities, the order possible in art and sometimes in life. These are still the justification of the American college, and nowhere has it been better remembered than in Columbia College, situated in what is now the crossroads of the modern world.

A careful reader of the account Professor Buchler has given elsewhere in this volume of the curricular changes in Columbia College during the last quarter-century knows that the Faculty of Columbia College have been steadily aware of these themes and problems. It would be in the worst sense scholastic and irrelevant for a student in a college situated as Columbia is simply to study subjects—so much history, so much philosophy. There remain, it is true, disciplines that must be scrupulously, separately, and exactly pursued, most of all by those moving toward professional specialties. But even the incipient expert will all his life be a human being and a citizen. Even the eventual geophysicist or gastrointestinal clinician begins as a freshman with general curiosity and interest in the world in which he lives. It is part of a liberal education to insure that throughout his career he remain interested, curious, and responsible.

The first two years of Columbia College have for some time now been

so designed that the student will feel from the beginning that he is concerned with the whole of civilization, its heritage, its contours, its prospects. The ideal of the program was not casually called Contemporary Civilization. From the point of view of conventional collegiate categories, it might be said to have originated as the fusion of the subject matters of the social sciences. But man is not social only; he is a solitary thinker and a restless inquirer into nature's secrets as well—manifestations of mind which the C.C. course has acknowledged early and late. Nor was the term "contemporary" taken too literally. Modern man has a history, and that history is not purely social or political. Rather, society and politics involve ideas, attitudes, and feelings. The original course in Contemporary Civilization used to begin with an introduction to man's "human traits and their social significance" and gave a brief account of the "career of reason" in art, religion, society, and science. The course has undergone constant revision, but there has always remained as an important part of it a consideration of the framework of human motives and the background of the human heritage in thought and imagination. It has been realized that a good deal that is not of the current, however preoccupying, moment has gone into the "making of the modern mind."

Perhaps the most significant specific awareness of the place of a humane college in the modern world came with the projection and the final realization of the course so familiar to Columbia alumni, and familiar in forms patterned after it throughout the American academic world—the course in the Humanities. The world is radically changed, doubtless; but certain themes, ideas, feelings remain, and the paramount expression of these are in the classics of the Western World. Twenty years ago, no one would have believed that the term "Humanities" at Columbia would become as distinctive and familiar a term as "English A" was a generation ago. No one would have credited the fact that the Greek dramatists, Dante, and Goethe would be to some degree the spiritual possession for life of all students who go through Columbia College. But those concerned with the humanities at Columbia College increasingly realized that in academic circles the humanities have tended to be too exclusively identified with the written word. And it goes without saying that the sculptures and paintings of Leonardo and Michelangelo and the symphonies and operas of Mozart are not less expressions of the human spirit than the writings of Shakespeare or Racine. Informed experience in the plastic arts and music has properly become as much a required part of the curriculum of the College as the written classics of the Western World.

For these purposes also Columbia College is felicitously situated. Its

students are learning in a city where the new and fresh in the arts is displayed and in no small measure created. The presence of writers and composers on the faculty, the relationship of college teachers to the living arts, is one reason among others why the atmosphere not simply of a humanistic past but of a humanistic future is pervasive in Columbia College.

Recent events on the international scene have brought home to everyone the fact that "civilization" is not simply Western and that what we call the values of the West, those embedded in Judaism and Christianity and Greek thought, have Oriental sources. Even the barest acquaintance with the traditions of the East has made it clear that education in the West has been often strikingly provincial in its assumptions. As a consequence there is a very serious effort being made to extend the boundaries of the conception of Humanities as a study and to provide undergraduates with a serious introduction to Oriental Civilization, to make Confucius and Lao-tze as domestic as Plato and Spinoza.

No one concerned with Columbia College can think of it as an island of undergraduate study in a sea of worldly affairs. It is never forgotten that the College is part of a university, nor that many of its students are preparing for academic and other professional careers. As a consequence, the Upper College has tended to be, quite properly, an anticipation of such work in specialized scholarly fields which will occupy students headed for the graduate and professional schools. Here perhaps is best found the special quality which distinguishes the College. The college as part of a whole university system is indeed an American invention, not least in honor at Columbia. By the time a student is a junior he feels the adult responsibilities of the serious scholar and of the concerned citizen. That is why some of those who have been both teachers and students of the College look forward with grateful hope to the beginning of the third century of Alma Mater and why they feel it has a special part to play in the contemporary world. New York City is not the colonial town it was when King's College was founded. Nor is Columbia College the conventionally classical college that it was throughout the nineteenth century. It is part of Columbia University in the City of New York. Its curriculum offers a program that, without any belittlement of the intimate charm of a simpler college in a simpler world, reaffirms and re-expresses the aims and powers of civilization. It is still the mission of Columbia College to make the complexities of the age intelligible and its values vivid and meaningful.

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